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Pro-Slavery.

From the Charleston Mercury.

TO THE REV. AND HON. J. G. PALFREY, M. C.

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.
Atque metus omnis, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitum que Acherontis avari.

SIR:—The happiness which the Mantuan bard ascribes to those whose minds have been freed by philosophy from all groundless fears, has, I presume, for many years been yours.

Trained at Harvard in all liberal arts, and exercising for the greater part of your life the Christian Ministry, you ought to be one of the last persons in our country to waste your energies in needless panics, and spend your declining days in efforts which are worse than Quixotic. Pardon me if I speak plainly. The matters at issue between us call for faithful dealing, and as I write over my own signature you will not, I am satisfied, complain of the utmost candor, provided it be accompanied with that courtesy which becomes a gentleman and a Christian, and above all, a Christian Minister.

Though personally unknown to you, I am a son of your Alma Mater, and frequently, while a student, attended your ministrations in Boston, in company with an honoured friend now no more.

I regret to see that you have become a political Abolitionist, and that your chief aim in Congress seems to be to urge forward, through that body, an emancipation of our negroes.

That you are influenced by philanthropic motives, I will not presume to question. That you confidently look forward to ultimate success, I take for granted. That you are sustained and cheered in your progress by that inward testimony of meaning right and doing right, which every conscientious person prizes so highly, it is not for me to gainsay. It is not with your conscience that I have at present to deal. My wish is to address myself entirely to your judgment, and, if possible, to convince you by solid arguments and straight-forward statements, that, as a politician, you are pursuing the very worst course to attain your ends.

You wish Slavery to be abolished in the United States. You desire that those of the States of the Union who preserve the institution of domestic servitude should give it up, and place their slaves on a footing with themselves as freemen, and entitled to all the privileges of freemen. This is the cause to which, as I understand your position, you have devoted yourself; and at a time of life when, I presume, the retirement of the study would be far more congenial to your taste and former pursuits, you are mingling in the dust and strife of the political arena, and measuring unequal weapons with professed statesmen.

Of the evils of Slavery I mean not to speak. Perhaps if you had been labouring as long as I have to emancipate our slaves from the bondage of sin and Satan, you would attach less importance to a mere temporal condition. Or if you can produce in any part of Africa better specimens of the race than are to be found in a state of servitude in the Southern States, I shall be surprised. But I desire to meet you on your own ground, and would show how impolitic you are in your measures.

As an American citizen you of course admit that the Constitution of the United States is to be rigidly adhered to. Nor do I suppose you would be willing to triumph in your cause, if your car had to roll over the ruins of our Federal Republic. You are doubtless a man of Law and Order. Has it never struck you that this whole movement of political abolitionism is altogether disorganizing, and can only succeed by breaking down the compromises of the Constitution? Suppose you had an abolition majority in Congress and an abolition President, and a law should pass abolishing Slavery in the United States, do you imagine that such an enactment could invalidate my right and title to slaves in South Carolina—a right which I inherit under the Constitution and laws of my native State, and in the enjoyment of which, as of all other property, I can claim protection of the United States Government itself?—How, let me ask, could a law of Congress, abolishing Slavery, be enforced in South Carolina? On this question, there is no difference of sentiment amongst us. We all agree that against law so palpably unconstitutional, "Nullification is the rightful remedy;" nor would there be found in our borders a single individual willing to serve as United States agent in carrying into effect such an enactment.—What then would you have done in such a case? Would you avail yourself of the Force Bill, and, marching an army of volunteers into South Carolina, compel her, at the point of the bayonet, to emancipate her slaves? I cannot suppose you prepared for this; but if you are, be assured she should not falsify her ancient motto: "*Animis opibusque parati.*" Divided as her sons were in 1833, at present, on almost all questions, certainly on this, they are one from seaboard to mountain; and even her adopted citizens from other States are ready to stand or fall with her institutions as guarantied by the Federal Constitution. So that the true question for yourself and associates at the North to settle, before you urge on your measures through Congress, is whether, in order to emancipate our negroes, you are prepared to overrun our Commonwealth with fire and sword, and compel us to comply with your impracticable theories. It ill becomes one to boast of his State; and should either you or I grow bellicose in our sentiments, we might receive a gentle rebuke from the Silenus of Virgil:

"Quum canerem reges et prœlia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit, et admonuit; Pastorem, Tityre, pingues
Pascere oportet oves deductum dicere carmen."

Still let me say, we have more than one Palmetto Regiment; and contending "*pro aris et focis*" in such a servile war as some of you seem disposed to wage, our very daughters would emulate our sons, and leave the invaders of our soil little to be proud of. Have you forgotten the Revolutionary history? Did Tarleton and Cornwallis find it easy to subdue Carolina, or to keep her subdued?

But I will not do you the injustice of suspecting that you look to the sword as the emancipator.—Possibly your object is to imitate Great Britain, and induce Congress to purchase the freedom of our slaves, even as she did in her West India Colonies. Indeed, it has struck me with surprise that the Abolitionists had not named this project of a purchase. This would be honest and fair, and while I hope none are so ignorant of the essential difference between the relations of these States to the General Government and those of the British Colonies to the mother country, as to suppose that anything like the West India apprentice system could be forced upon the slaveholding States by any act of Congress, yet it would have a semblance of justice. We should receive something like an equivalent for the property which we should surrender to the tender consciences of our Northern brethren. Yet such a scheme has not been broached in the only place where it would seem appropriate—in the Halls of Congress itself.

May I not presume that you have some reasons for not imitating the philanthropists of Great Britain in their West India movement? I will not here cite good British authorities to show that their effort has proved a failure. Nor will I invite you to contemplate the prospect of the whole of the West India Islands becoming confederated with the Southern States in case you should drive us out of the Union by your aggressive and offensive movements on the subject of Slavery. But I will only ask one or two questions as to the apprentice scheme. First: Where is the money to come from to purchase our negroes? Certainly not from the Abolitionists. For while they spend, I understand, a good deal in printing pamphlets, &c. to enlighten the public mind upon the evils of Slavery and the blessings of abolition, they seem to overlook what to us in the South seems a perfectly sensible and practical way of exhibiting their sympathy, viz: buying up as many of their African brethren as they chose to do, and disposing of them afterwards precisely as they please. Has Congress funds enough to pay us for our slaves? Certainly not—without special taxation. Will our Northern brethren submit to special taxation for this purpose Will they give a little more for their tea and coffee, and sugar and salt, to procure for the negroes the sweets of liberty? I apprehend not. We at the South have been long complaining that the effect of Northern legislation has been to diminish the profits of slave labour, and to prevent us from giving to our operatives even as many of the comforts of life as we desire to do. If to put money in their own purses, our Northern friends are willing to curtail our ability to better the physical condition of our slaves, in any way that we wish, is it likely that they will pay out money in the shape of a tax in order to purchase their emancipation?

But again: What is to be done with the slaves, should their freedom be purchased? Will you remove them? or are they to settle here. Will you buy our lands too? Or must we adopt an aggrarian system, and divide these with our negroes, share and share alike? Well, suppose it done on the most approved scale, under the very eye of commissioners appointed by Congress, say Mr. Hale, Mr. Giddings and yourself. Are you, Sir, so unacquainted, I will not say with the state of things at the South, but at the North, as not to see that the question you are urging upon us is not emancipation, but amalgamation? The negroes at the North are already emancipated, but do they amalgamate? In your recent speech in Congress, you tried to show how, in solitary instances, an approximation to amalgamation had taken place; but the offence you naturally felt at the reasonable inquiry of a member from Tennessee, whether you would be willing that the coloured boy, whom you spoke of as "rivalling" for the honours of Harvard your own son and the son of my friend Mr. Rhett, should be admitted into full and free social intercourse with your family, satisfied me that you are not prepared for the very results after which you are professedly aiming.

If the conventional usages of society, even in free Massachusetts, would render disagreeable to your family the sociable visits and equal friendship of one so "charming" as the coloured youth you described, how can you be urging us at the South to educate and emancipate our slaves, when it is by no means certain that even you or your household have so divested yourselves of what some call prejudice of education as to receive them on a footing of social equality, though we should turn them out dandies and belles of the first water?

"*De gustibus non*," &c. is true all the world over; and if you in old Massachusetts, whence negro slavery has been banished so long, still prefer for your associates those of fair complexions and straight hair, why are you so zealous for forcing us in South Carolina to evince a lofty superiority to the usual standards of taste and sentiment among Anglo-Saxons, and place at our side, in the field, at the desk, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the deliberative assembly, at the council board, or at the family hearth, those who we know, by every day's experience, to be our inferiors in all respects, and whose appearance and pedigree are associated in our minds with barbarism in their fatherland, and viciousness and servitude in our own?

A politician who is unable or unwilling to carry out his own measures receives little confidence and deserves less. A Christian pastor who "seeks not his own road," but prescribes for others the steep and thorny road, whilst he "himself the primrose path of dalliance treads," would be counted ungracious on higher authority than that of Shakspeare. Permit me, then, candidly to say, that when you shrunk on the floor of Congress from the homely but pertinent question propounded to you by Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, viz: (I quote from the report in the Charleston *Mercury* of the 17th April,) "Whether, if that boy had lived, he would have been willing to introduce him into his family—that he should become an associate of his daughter—her associate in marriage?" and when the next day you appeared to resent the inquiry as disrespectful, you gave up the whole cause of abolition, so far as it is a practical, political, and social question; and you satisfied some of us here at the South as to what we have long wished to know—whether, if we should send on our emancipated serving men and serving women to aristocratic Boston, with the cast-off clothing and assumed manners of their *ci-devant* masters and mistresses, they would at once be welcomed into the upper circles as the first fruits of voluntary abolition. If, dear Sir, you are not quite ready to receive them as gentlemen and ladies there, be not provoked that we retain them in the position in which God's Providence has placed them here.

I am as fond of theory as you or any other Bostonian can be, and presume that on the subject before us it would be difficult to name a speculation that has not, at some time or other, passed through my mind. But I like to be economical in experiments, and try them first on a small scale. It costs nothing but a little ingenuity to devise a theory; while experiments, especially if conducted by your large-minded and large-hearted men and women, cost often not only money, but what even in New England is worth more than money—blood. And before we Southern philanthropists (for we love all men, even our slaves, if you can credit it) permit our consciences to be instructed, or our feelings to be touched by the distant appeal of Northern friends, we wish you to unfold your programme, and explain your *modus operandi*.

Warm as our hearts may be under a June sun, we try to keep our brains cool as your own Fresh Pond Ice; and would regard our *Alma Mater*, whether at Cambridge or Columbia, or it may be at our own paternal domicil, under the auspices of "mother wit," disgraced by our folly, if we permitted the good citizens of the Bay State to try their hands at reforming the social condition of the African race in South Carolina, while amalgamation is scouted in Boston. The Chinese have a maxim worthy of note: "Those who expend their charity on remote objects," writes Sir John Davis, in his Chapter on Chinese Aphorisms—"Those who expend their charity on remote objects, but neglect their family, are said to hang a lantern on a pole, which is seen afar, but gives no light below." I don't know that many of your Northern philanthropists are obnoxious to the charge, but I submit to you, whether they would not entice us of the South into the dilemma. Pardon us, Sir, we are not worse than Infidels. (1 Tim. v. 8.) We have not denied the faith. The motto of old Harvard in her purest days, "*Christo et Ecclesiæ*," is still, not on our banners merely, but our hearts. We train our slaves for Christ, we receive them into his Church; but we love them too wisely and too well to give them up as they are to the tender mercies of Abolitionists. We would fain comply with the Apostolic precept: "*Brethren be not children in understanding, howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men.*"

If, dear Sir, there has seemed to you anything unduly severe in these remarks, you must ascribe it rather to earnestness than ill-will. You will hear from me again. Meanwhile I subscribe myself yours, in the bonds of Christian charity,

W. H. BARNWELL.
Rector of St. Peter's Church, Charleston.

Selections.

From the New York Globe.

SLAVERY IN THE MIDST OF LIBERTY.

There are some few men in the United States who consider African slavery an institution necessary to the full enjoyment of liberty! The Legislature of South Carolina publishes to the world an address, in which they declare *that a Republic cannot long endure in which Slavery does not exist!* They appealed to the history of the world to prove the soundness of the monstrous doctrine. We quoted from this address at the time, and made a few short comments upon the singularity of the argument.—Harsh epithets were applied to us by the South Carolina papers on account of our comments. It is to us an unaccountable fact that there are some few men in this land of "liberty and equality," who say they believe that Slavery is the corner-stone of Republicanism, and that without it republican Government cannot endure. Such, however, is not the opinion of those devoted friends of Liberty and Democracy who have just proclaimed France a Republic. It is known that France has several colonies in which Slavery exists. The number of slaves in these colonies at this time, we cannot accurately compute. The latest census published by the authority of the French Government, which we have seen, is that taken in 1834. At that time the population of the three following named colonies was as annexed:

	Free Whites.	Slaves.
Isle of Bourbon	17,027	45,000
Guadaloupe	28,748	96,685
Martinique	36,766	73,233
Total.	82,551	214,918

It is probable that at this time the number of slaves greatly exceeds what it was in 1834.

Our readers are aware that the Provisional Government of France, among its first acts, declared in favour of the abolition of Slavery in the French colonies, and took immediate measures to carry the decree into effect. Subsequently, a deputation of negroes and mulattoes were commissioned to express to the Provisional Government of the Republic the gratitude of their fellow-citizens for this noble act of emancipation. M. Crèmiux, one of the members of the new Government, addressed the deputation, in reply to their address expressive of their gratitude, as follows:

Fellow citizens, friends, brothers: I am happy to hail you in the name of the Provisional Government of the Republic, every part of which has entertained the great thought of emancipating such of your fellow-countrymen as still remain in slavery. Slavery, slavery in the midst of liberty! Why, this is the most odious, the most afflicting inconsistency. Distinctions between men! This is a violation of the law both of God and man. (Loud applause.) We have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the hearts of all mankind. Yes, the national Convention—that grand, that immortal assembly, had restored you all to freedom, but the error of a great man again placed you under the yoke which you had believed was broken forever.

You, who, having been slaves, had become freemen, rendered to the liberty which had been restored to you such great and important services—you yourselves were cast back into servitude! The new Republic will accomplish what the Republic of 1792 proclaimed. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our colonies as well as in continental France, every man who inhabits the land shall be free. You will prove yourselves worthy of it, for you ever have been so. And when Slavery shall have disappeared, our descendants will exclaim with pride—it was to the revolution of 1848 that the final abolition of Slavery was due. Vive la Republique.

This was re-echoed by repeated cries of "Vive la Republique! Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire!"

In abolishing Slavery, "we have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the hearts of all mankind." Such is the language of a French Republican! Noble as the expression is, yet we are under the painful necessity of declaring that it is too general in its application. In the free Republic of the United States there are men who declare that Slavery is a blessing—a positive good—a natural order of society—and without it a Republic cannot endure! Hence we find men, not only in the slave States of the South, but in the free States of the North, who insist upon the propriety of extending the institution of Slavery over more acres—in favour of supplanting Freedom where it now exists, and establishing on free soil the institution of Slavery! Can a principle so repugnant to natural liberty, so contrary to the true genius of Republicanism, be supported by any considerable number of our people? No, it cannot!

We hesitate not to declare that this Republic cannot long endure if this principle prevails. And the sooner it is abandoned the better; for abandoned it must be. To extend an institution so odious as that of human slavery, into that vast area of territory which we shall acquire from Mexico, would degrade a free people, and give the lie to all our professions in favour of liberty. Slavery, confined to its present limits, is a dark spot on Liberty's soil. While we of the North deny that we have any power to interwith the institution where it is already planted, or where it may hereafter exist by the authority of sovereign States, we emphatically refuse to permit its extension into free territory, which is subject to the jurisdiction of all the States, through the National Legislature, chosen in part by each.

From the Boston Courier.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

Perhaps there has been no time when the impression has been so general and so strong in this country that West India emancipation has proved a failure as now. The accounts of ruin and distress among the planters of the British Islands, which have lately come to us, are not only giving a triumph to the upholders of tyranny here but are making even some of the friends of emancipation waver, and question whether, after all, the question is not a more doubtful one than they have been supposing. That distress does exist, and to a very serious extent among the British West India planters, cannot be doubted. The question is, In what light do these planters view it in its connection with the question of emancipation? A document has just been put into our hands which answers this question in a most extraordinary manner,—extraordinary, I mean, to those who have not *full* faith in the carrying out of the principles of freedom. It is a copy of the Kingston Morning Journal, for Monday, April 24, containing an account of a large meeting of planters which had taken place the Thursday preceding, to take into consideration their present lamentable condition. The meeting was presided over by the Mayor of the city, assisted by the senior magistrate and several members of the House of Assembly, and was composed, says the Journal, of not less than three thousand persons. It may fairly therefore, be considered as an authentic exposition of the sentiments of the planters of Jamaica. Now, let those who expect to find in the report of such a meeting, bitter denunciation of the "fanatics" who had ruined them by bringing about emancipation, and clamorous demands upon the mother-country to restore to them the "property," of which they had been wrongfully despoiled, read the following extracts from the speech of the Rev. Mr. Oughton, which occupies five of the ten columns of the Journal devoted to the report, and observe the manner in which it was received; and observe also the fact that though much was said, and said strongly and bitterly, against the grievous taxation of the mother country, *not a single word* was said by any of the speakers against the emancipation of their slaves:

"The Rev. S. Oughton rose amidst much applause. He said he had been requested to move a resolution which he did with the more readiness, from the conviction that it would meet with the cordial and hearty support of the meeting. It was an Anti-Slavery resolution, *and he was assurdd that there was not an individual present who did not regard Slavery as a great calamity, and a heinous sin or would not step forward to lenda helping hand to benefit his poor enslaved brother.*"

After reading the resolution, which demands, as a measure of justice the restoration of the discriminating duties in favour of free labour sugar, and making some further remarks, he goes on—

"But I came here principally as an Anti-Slavery man. (Cheers.) Much has been said about the Anti-Slavery principles of some who united in this movement. He was not responsible for the principles of others; but for himself, whatever others might be, he was proud to believe that none could doubt the sincerity of his Anti-Slavery principles. With those principles he had entered into life, and to them, under every change of circumstances, he had steadfastly adhered, until they seemed incorporated with his very nature and could not be removed; they were part and parcel of himself; they were like his skin, and to get rid of them they must tear away both skin and muscle, and leave nothing but the skeleton behind. (Loud applause.) * * For years he had endured the toil and strife,—nor did he ever pause until the fetter was struck from the limb of the slave, and throughout the wide extent of the British dominions every man was alike blessed in the enjoyment of freedom. (Cheers.)—That noble act of justice and humanity was an honour to the nation that performed it, and he hoped that the glory of such an act would never be dimmed by conduct inconsistent with it. * * *

"He had heard that reports had been circulated by those who were opposed to the present meeting, that their object was to bring back Slavery to Jamaica. The charge was false, unfounded, and foolish too. He did not believe that a man could be found so foolish as to cherish such a thought. Bring back Slavery to Jamaica!—first pull down the sun from the heavens and bind the winds with a girdle, and not until then can they hope to curse this land with Slavery! (Loud cheering.) He had heard also, that some had expressed a desire to link this island to America. He would sooner Jamaica sunk to the bottom of the ocean than behold it degraded by such a connection. (Immense applause.) * * * Whatever may be the wealth and advantages of America, there was one black spot which was enough to sink it in his estimation. It is Slavery, and Slavery is my abhorrence. I hate it (if such a thing were possible) as bad as I hate the Devil; and why should I not? Slavery is the Devil's first born child, and *all who have seen it* must admit that it is as like its father as two peas in a pod. (Cheers and loud laughter.) Now America is the stronghold of Slavery. Yes. The boasted land of liberty holds within its limits from two to three millions of poor, helpless and cruelly oppressed slaves. Three groans for America!!" (Loud and long continued groaning.)

In another place he says—"He had experienced no ordinary amount of kindness in Jamaica, and some of his dearest friends were found among its inhabitants. Friends of all colours and classes,—white, black, and brown,—he loved them all alike. without the least regard to colour or condition. It mattered not to him what was the outward distinction of colour; though a man be black as jet, yet if he be an honest and good man he would regard him as 'the noblest work of God!'" (Loud cheers.)

When we consider that this speech was made by one of those missionaries who, a few years ago, were in danger of their lives for being supposed to favour emancipation, and that it was made before an assemblage of the very men who most bitterly opposed it, it offers a view of the workings of freedom more cheering than anything that I have met for many a day. Bankrupicy and distress certainly exist in Jamaica, but its inhabitants know that they are not the fruit of emancipation, or if they were, they would not again have Slavery to curse their island, even at the price of relief. May we not hope that the time is not far distant when the same change will come over the spirit of the Northern and Southern defenders of "the corner stone of our institutions"? W. P. A.

From the Tribune.

DECREASE OF POPULATION IN CUBA.

The last number of the *Verdad* has a searching analysis of the statistical report of the Island of Cuba for 1847, which, it says, the Government, in the "inscrutable wisdom of colonial omnipotence," suppressed. By comparing the population statistics of 1841 with those of 1847, it will be perceived there is a decrease of 112,736 *slaves*, in six years:

	White.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.	Total.
Census of 1841	418 291	152 838	436,495	1,007,624
Census of 1847	425,770	159,233	323,759	898,752
Diminution			112,736	108,872

It will be seen, if *La Verdad* has quoted correctly the Government returns, that this blotting out of a ninth part of the population of this Island has not resulted from war, pestilence, or emigration. *It is an absolute extinction of over one hundred thousand slaves.* They have not passed by emancipation into the ranks of the free coloured population, for the increase of that class is but 6,385 on 152,838, a moderate advance through births alone in six years. As little can they have disappeared by emigration, for there is no perceptible departure of coloured persons from Cuba—there is no outlet for that class of its inhabitants. What, then, becomes of the slaves that vanish from the face of the earth, at the rate of twenty thousand a-year? Hear the answer of *La Verdad*, a Spanish American paper printed here, but having its editorials on Cuba prepared in Havana, within sight and hearing of the palace of the Governor:

The real explanation is that the coloured race exists in a state of slavery and hardship unfavourable to life, and the country is still less favourable to increase than the cities, on account of the greater severity of labour, the paucity of females in proportion to men, the stinted and inferior quality of food, the harsh exposure, and the want of needful rest and sleep. All these are more than sufficient to destroy the faculties of man, moral, intellectual and physical, whatever may be the colour of his skin or the latitude of his birth. Add to these causes the horrid slaughter made by the military commission of the Governor of Cuba, in which eight or ten thousand negroes were murdered in Matanzas and Cardenas alone, by eight or ten thousand modes of torture, to verify a supposed conspiracy, which in any case could not have been known to more than a dozen of the race, and it will be easy to understand the loss of the slave population.

From the National Era.

SPEECH OF MR. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO.

In the House of Representatives, May 13, 1848, on the bill to pay the executrix of Benjamin Hodges, deceased, for a slave who left his master in Prince George's county, in August, 1814, and was supposed to have escaped on board the British fleet.

Mr. Giddings remarked, that the recommitment of the bill, in order to obtain a report of the facts involved, as proposed by the gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. Collamer,] would be equivalent to a rejection of it. No, (said he,) we must take the case without proof, or we must reject it. There is not a scintilla of legal evidence in the case.

Mr. Chapman desired to explain, (Mr. Giddings yielding the floor,) and said he would refer the Committee to the affidavits on file: there were three of them.

Mr. Giddings resumed. He said he would assure the gentlemen from Maryland that he had carefully examined the affidavits. Not one of the witnesses attempted to speak to any fact within his knowledge. They each referred to what they had heard other persons say, who knew no more in relation to the matter than the witnesses themselves. I repeat, (said he,) we have no proof to a single fact involved. If we legislate on the subject, we must do so in utter ignorance of all the circumstances attending it. Yet I do not regard that as a matter of much importance, when compared with the principles involved. Before I enter upon an examination of the case, however, I wish to say that the charge which Southern members have raised, that Northern gentlemen have introduced the subject of Slavery into this debate, was not unexpected to me. It is in strict keeping with their usual practice. What are the facts? A slaveholder introduces a bill appropriating the money of the nation to pay for human flesh. My friend from New Hampshire objects to its passage, for the reason, that he is unwilling to have the burdens of that institution thrown upon the people of the free States, and straightway five Southern members follow him in debate, each charging him with introducing the exciting subject of Slavery into the discussion. Do gentlemen suppose they can thus mislead the public? Do they believe that we shall sit here, with silent tongues and sealed lips, and suffer such bills as this to pass this body? I assure them, most respectfully, that we shall oppose all attempts to involve our people in the expense, the guilt, or disgrace of Slavery. No Northern man has ever, to my knowledge, introduced that question here, except for the purpose of separating the people of the free States from its support. No, Sir; if any Southern man can point to an instance in which members from the North have brought the question of Slavery into this Hall, except to defend our people from the encroachments of that institution, let them now rise and sustain their charges with proof. [Mr. G. paused a moment, and then resumed.] Mr. Speaker, where are those gentlemen who made these charges? Why, Sir, "they now roar you gently as sucking doves."

I now proceed to examine the case before us. I repeat, that the claim is entirely unsupported by proof. But the petitioner states that she is the widow of Benjamin Hodges, late of Maryland; that he owned a slave who, in 1814, was taken away in August of that year, by the British army, on their return from this city to the Chesapeake Bay. Now, Sir, this statement of the case gives the petitioner no claim upon this Government, unless we have become holden by some act of ours. This seems well understood by the petitioner, and by the Committee who reported the bill. They therefore refer to our treaty of peace with Great Britain, signed at Ghent on the 24th December, 1814; the first article of which provides, "that each party shall evacuate all territory, places, and possessions, taken during the war," without destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, *or any slaves or other private property.*"

Our Government claimed, under this treaty, that England should pay our slaveholders for all slaves taken from our shores by the British fleet *when they left our coast.* England refused, and the subject was referred to the Emperor of Russia. He decided that the British Government was bound to pay for slaves thus carried away when they left our shores, after the signing of the treaty. This led to the treaty of St. Petersburg, dated the 17th of June, 1822, by the first article of which provision is made for establishing a board, consisting of two commissioners and two arbitrators, to determine the claims presented by the people of this Government. This board were constituted the joint agents of both Governments. His Britannic Majesty appointed one commissioner and one arbitrator; and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed the other commissioner and arbitrator. England never trusted this fund to Congress for distribution; that was to be done by the joint commission. The second article provided for the ascertaining of the average value of slaves. The third article reads as follows:

When the average value of slaves shall have been ascertained and fixed, the two commissioners shall constitute a board for the examination of the claims which are to be submitted to them; and they shall notify the Secretary of State, of the United States, that they are ready to receive a definite list of the slaves, and other private property for which the citizens of the United States claim indemnification; *it being understood and hereby agreed that the commission shall not take cognizance of, nor receive, and that his Britannic Majesty shall not be required to make payment for any claim for private property not contained in said list.*

There is no pretence that the slave in question was named in said list. The report of the Committee admits that he was not. [Calls from various parts of the Hall were made for the reading of this article again. Mr. G. again read it, and proceeded.] This, Sir, was our distinct compact with Great Britain. We solemnly stipulated that no claims should be made on that Government, nor should she be required to make compensation for claims *other than those contained in the list furnished by our Secretary of State.* To-day we are called on to appropriate this money to the payment of other claims. We are asked to violate this solemn treaty, to disregard the pledged faith of the nation, in order to give this slaveholder the value of the body, of the bones and muscles, the blood and sinews, of his fellow-man.

But, Sir, in order that no room for cavil should be left, the fifth article provided that "the decision of the two commissioners, or a majority of the board, shall in all cases be *conclusive as to number, value, or the ownership of slaves, or other property for which indemnity is to be made.*" They were not only to confine themselves to the list furnished them by our Secretary of State, but their decision upon the claims mentioned on said list was to be entirely conclusive upon the parties.

Under this treaty, the members of this board were appointed, met in this city, organized, took the oath of office, and called on the Secretary of State for the list mentioned. It was furnished; but there was no claim for this slave upon it. They proceeded to examine and adjudicate upon claims presented on said list. When they had completed their labours, they found the amount of all claims allowed *on said list* to be "*twelve hundred and four thousand nine hundred and sixty dollars.*"—This was the precise amount of claims *allowed* by the board, who acted as the agents of Great Britain and of the United States. And on the 13th of November, 1826, at London, another convention was entered into, by the first article of which, it was provided that his Britannic Majesty should pay to this Government the sum just mentioned, "*for the use of persons entitled to indemnification and compensation by virtue of said decision.*" Sir, to divert this money, or any portion of it, to the payment of other claims, would be a violation of the trust reposed in this Government, a breach of this solemn covenant, and a total disregard of our pledged faith. If there be one cent more than to meet those claims, there has been a mistake or fraud on our part. In 1842, as Chairman of the Committee of Claims, I held a correspondence with the Department on this subject, and was then informed that about four thousand dollars of this fund had not then been paid out to those to whom it was due. I now understand there are about two thousand dollars still remaining undistributed. But it belongs to the persons to whom it was awarded, as much as though it were bank stock; and when they or their heirs call for it at the Treasury, they must receive it, whether the demand be made this year or a century hence. The bill, therefore, is nothing more nor less than a proposition to pay for the slave from the public Treasury.

The Committee who reported this bill admit that the claim does not come within the provisions of the treaty; yet they say the petitioner lost the slave, and they propose to pay for his loss. Sir, shall we pay for all slaves that have been lost? Any other man who has had a slave run away has an equal claim with this petitioner. The owner of any one of the twenty thousand fugitives now in Canada has as much claim upon the national treasure for compensation as the petitioner. If we pay this claim, the money must come from the pockets of the People. The people of the free States must pay at least three-fourths of it. If we pay this, shall we pay for all fugitive slaves? There are probably thirty or perhaps forty thousand masters who will present claims on us for their locomotive property, each of which is as meritorious as the one under consideration.

Mr. Chairman, at the very moment we are thus called on to legislate for the support of Slavery in Maryland and in the other slave States, we are told that we have no power whatever over that institution; that it is so far beyond our control that we must not even discuss its merits. Now, Sir, I desire that Southern gentlemen shall take some position, and that they shall remain in it at least during this session of Congress. If we have jurisdiction of Slavery in the States, let Southern men admit the fact, and let us at once abolish it from our Union, and wipe out the foul blot that has so long disgraced our national character. If we have not jurisdiction of it, why are we called on to legislate for its support? If it be a State institution, why is it constantly dragged into the discussions of this Hall? Why are we called on to take jurisdiction of it? Why are its burdens sought to be cast upon the people of the free States? Why are we to participate in its crimes? A year or two since, we were not permitted to speak our views in regard to Slavery, for the reason, as Southern gentlemen then said, that we had no power over it; to-day, they ask us to legislate for its benefit. Yes, Sir; it is an established fact, and history will record it, that we are now legislating upon the right of a master to his slave in Maryland—not at the instance of Northern members—no; the bill was reported by a gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Rhett,] and we Northern men sit here with all becoming gravity, and solemnly enter into an investigation of this man's right to the body of his fellow-man in that State. I repeat, Sir, we have jurisdiction of this subject, or we have not. I am willing to leave the selection of either horn of this dilemma to Southern men. They may take their choice; but let them choose one or the other. Let us know where to find them. I have, at all times, denied that we have any constitutional powers in relation to this institution. But if we have the constitutional right to legislate on the subject, and to appropriate the treasure of the nation in the manner proposed, then, Sir, let us change the form of the bill before us, and give the two hundred and eighty dollars which it appropriates, to the slave instead of the master.—That proposition would be much more consonant to my feelings, and is equally within our power, and much nearer our duty. I would go further, and would grant fifty or a hundred dollars to each slave who shall escape from his master, as a bounty for his energy, and to begin the world with. But Southern men will start back with horror at this proposition. Yet, Sir, if we are to appropriate the money of our people on this subject, I insist that the appropriation shall be for the promotion of freedom, and not of Slavery. I repeat, that I am willing that Southern members should choose either position. They may give us jurisdiction of Slavery, or they may retain it in their several States. But if they place it in our hands, then I propose at once to abolish it, to strike it from existence. But, Sir, I tell Southern gentlemen that we will not take jurisdiction of it to-day, and deny that we have any power over it to-morrow. We will not face to the right, to the left, and to the right about, at the bidding of the slave power.

Sir, I insist that we have no constitutional power to sit here and appropriate our time to the investigation of this subject of Slavery. It is an indignity to the people of our free States. They sent us here for no such object. I say to gentlemen of the South, "*Take care of your Slavery in your own way; we will have nothing to do with it.* Its blessings and its curses, its evils and its benefits, its vices, its crimes, its guilt, and its disgrace, are *yours.* Keep them to yourselves. We will not contaminate our moral or our political purity by any participation in them."

Even during this present discussion, gentlemen have complained that we Northern men are striving to extend our power over Slavery. This is their perpetual cry on all occasions. Why, Sir, from the time I first took my seat in this Hall to the present day, I have opposed all attempts to connect Slavery with this Government. I repeat what I said a few days since, that as early as 1842, I was driven from my seat in this body for presenting a resolution denying the power of the Federal Government to involve the free States in the support of the coastwise slave trade.

Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, interrupted Mr. Giddings, who yielded him the floor. He then stated that Mr. Giddings was not censured for presenting such resolutions, but for presenting a petition for dissolving the Union, and serreptitiously sending it to a committee of this House.

Mr. Giddings resumed. Sir, it is a most lamentable fact, that whenever we speak upon this subject, slaveholders in this House become, for the time being, actually demented. Now, there is not the least doubt that some phantom is haunting the disordered imagination of the gentleman [Mr. Holmes,] to the effect which he has named. Sir, my resolutions are upon record, and will bear to those who shall follow us the sentiments I have expressed here to-day.

Mr. Holmes (interrupting Mr. Giddings) repeated what he had previously said.

Mr Giddings resumed. The gentleman is entirely mistaken; his assertion is false, though surely not so intended.

Mr. Gayle called Mr. Giddings to order.

The Chairman [Mr. Sims, of South Carolina] decided that Mr. Giddings had violated no rule of the House.

Mr. Giddings resumed. Sir, I well know the gentleman from South Carolina is incapable of asserting an intentional falsehood. And his persisting in the assertion is conclusive proof of his dementation.* I repeat, that in no instance, from my advent into this Hall down to the present day, have I ceased to oppose all interference with Slavery. I have endeavoured, to the extent of my humble powers, to separate this Government and the people of the free States from all connection with it. I shall continue those efforts, and thousands and tens of thousands of others are exerting their moral and political influence to effect that object, and we shall not cease our exertions until, by God's blessing, we shall redeem ourselves and the Government from all support of that institution.

But, Sir, I will express my thanks to the gentleman from South Carolina for bringing this subject before us in its present form. It is now under consideration, and must be disposed of; and I most devoutly thank my God that he has permitted me to see a time when Northern men *must act*; when there is no way of evading this question; when the doughfaces of this body will be constrained to vote on this identical question; and that such action will be public, and their votes placed on record, so that their constituents and the country may know and bear witness to the manner in which they meet the question before us. Will they vote to tax their constituents, at the dictation of Southern members, to pay for a fugitive slave who ran away from Maryland thirty years ago? They must do it, or they must refuse to do it. They must now serve God or Mammon. They can no longer act both ways. The subject will soon be decided by the monosyllable *yes* or *no*, to be pronounced by each member.

It has been said that we desire to keep this money in the Treasury. I, Sir, have no such wish. God forbid! It is the price of blood. It was obtained from Great Britain by the Executive without consulting this body. The treaties and conventions were negotiated, and the money obtained by the treaty-making power, with which we have no right to interfere. The President and Senate undertook to act as the agent and attorney of those slaveholders. They obtained the money from Great Britain; they have paid out all but two thousand dollars; let them dispose of that as they please. If the gentleman who reported this bill will modify it, so as to let the President dispose of the remaindor to whom and as he pleases, I will vote for it. He is a slaveholder; he understands this dealing in human flesh; I do not. Let him have the money, and let him pay it out. *I will have nothing to do with such business.*

I differ from my honourable friend from Vermont, who gave us such a lucid exposé of this treaty and its stipulations. I understood him to say, that if the Committee would take the case again into consideration, and show such facts as will bring this slave within the provisions of our treaty with Great Britain, he will vote to pay for him. Sir, I will do no such thing. I will not, in my capacity as a legislator, acting as the representative of freemen, degrade myself, while sitting in this Hall, by an inquiry into the price and value of our common humanity. I will not disgrace my constituents, while acting under their high commission, by entering upon an inquiry as to the title-deeds by which one man holds another as property. I will not sit here to inquire as to the value, in dollars and cents, of human bones and muscles, blood and sinews. No, Sir; the history of our legislation shall not bear to coming generations the fact, that the twentieth Congressional district of Ohio, at this age of the world, with the light and knowledge which now beams upon us, was disgraced by its representative in this Hall, entering upon such an inquiry. My constituents do not estimate man, the child of imm

mixture of blood to be preferred? What price, in gold and silver, does he place upon his constituents? How would he sell them? Sir, I feel humbled when I see Northern Representatives consent to enter upon this slave-dealing legislation, and become the instruments of the slave power, to strike down the honour, the dignity, and independence of the Northern States. I appeal to Northern Democrats and Northern Whigs. By what rule are you governed when you decide upon the value of your brother man? When inquired of by your constituents as to your estimate, will you say that he was valuable on account of his principles? That he was a supporter of Mr. Polk, or of Mr. Clay? And when they ask you if you believe that "self-evident truth, that *all men are born equal*," what will be your answer? Will you, like honest men, admit that you have contributed your vote to take the money from their pockets to pay for Southern slaves? If you do, I apprehend they will tell you, hereafter, to deal on your own account, while trading in human flesh, and not to use their funds for such purpose.

But this bill is based upon the principle, that under our Federal Constitution man may hold his fellow-man as property. I speak not of the slave States, but of the Federal Government. I deny that we possess the power, under the Constitution, to imbrute our fellow-men and render them *property*—that we have power to disrobe man of the dignity in which he was created, tear from him the rights which God has given him, and deliver him over to the arbitrary will of his brother man, to toil at another's bidding, cringe beneath his owner's lash, tremble at his frown, and be sold at his will. Such powers have not been granted us by the people of this nation. Such doctrines cannot find support in this hall at the present age of the world.

Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, interrupting Mr. Giddings, said that the Southern States would hold their slaves as *property*, in spite of any act of the Federal Government, or the efforts of Northern Abolitionists.

Mr. Giddings. I have nothing to do with the Southern States; they control their own policy; their barbarism has no relation to my duties as a member of Congress. If they see fit to make one-half of their people the property of the other half, we cannot interfere with their laws. If, with the inhabitants of the Fejee islands, they become cannibals, and eat each other, we have not the power to prohibit such revolving practice by our legislation. All we can do is, to see that they shall not disgrace nor degrade this Government, nor the people of the free States, either by their slavery or their cannibalism. Our motto is, "Keep your slavery, your disgusting barbarity, within your own States? Bring it not into this hall, nor attempt to involve us in its burdens or its crimes." I repeat, that we are not now acting under the constitutions of either of the slave or of the free States, but under our *Federal* compact. The formation of that instrument was preceded by a long and ardent struggle for freedom, for the rights of humanity.

In looking back to the darker and more barbarous ages, when war was regarded as the only honourable employment of mankind, we find that slavery existed; and the prisoner captured in war, and held as a slave by his captor, was considered as *property*. At that period, when moral darkness enshrouded the minds of men, and shut out from them an understanding of their natural rights, the opinion that slaves were property was general, and no one doubted its correctness. I say *no one*. I mean none but the learned. I except the philosopher; for Aristotle, in this day, with a mind enlightened by study and reflection, although he lived in a barbarous age, long prior to the Christian era, denied the doctrine so zealously maintained in this hall to-day by Southern gentlemen. The Immaculate Nazarene declared that one object of his divine mission was, "*to proclaim liberty to the captive.*" He, too, combated this doctrine of oppression, which, through ages and centuries of intellectual darkness, robbed a portion of our race of their inalienable rights, and which is now advocated in this body with more zeal than it was among the Jews eighteen hundred years since. Even at a comparatively recent period, some learned and intelligent men held to this doctrine, now so abhorrent to every friend of freedom. As late as 1749, Lord Hardwicke, of England, held that trover lay in the English courts for a slave brought from the West Indies into England. When, in 1766, Granville Sharpe published his first essays, denying this doctrine, it was looked upon as ultraism, as opposed to the doctrine of English law, to the principles expressed by Lord Hardwicke, and Sharpe was regarded as a fanatic. At that time, no lawyer dared to rise in a British court and deny that man could hold property in man on British soil. When, in 1769, Sommersett was brought up before Lord Mansfield on a *habeas corpus*, and the sole claim for his freedom was the great fundamental truth, that God had created him free, and that no positive statute existed in England by which he could be deprived of that liberty which God had given him, his lordship saw the force of this heaven-born truth; his brilliant mind comprehended its bearing, and the effect it must have on mankind. Still he hesitated, remanded Sommersett, and endeavored to avoid a direct decision of the point by advising the parties to compromise the matter. For more than two years he refused to declare the opinion of the court. At length he gave judgment in favor of the natural and inherent right of man to the enjoyment of his liberty. Speaking of Slavery, he said, "*it is so odious that nothing but positive law can be suffered to support it.*"

On the 4th of July, 1776, our fathers assembled in solemn convocation, denied the doctrine so strenuously advocated here to-day, and with unanimous voice proclaimed it a "*self-evident truth*" that "*all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among those rights are liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*"

Sir, no evasion, no sophism, can break the force or impair the perspicuity of this language. It proclaimed slavery to be a transgression of the laws of nature and of nature's God. These undying truths took strong hold upon the public mind of this nation, and of civilized man. They strike at the existence of property in man. Wherever these truths are acknowledge, Slavery itself cannot exist.

Eleven years after these doctrines were recognized as the basis of American liberty and government, the present Constitution was adopted. The framers of that instrument had passed through a seven years' war, had encountered danger and toil, and great suffering, to establish upon permanent basis the doctrines they had proclaimed in 1776. We have now reached an important period of our history, as regards this doctrine of *property in man*.

Mr. Madison, in his Papers, informs us that on "Wednesday, August 22, the Convention proceeded to consider the report of the Committee of Details, in relation to duties on exports, a capitation tax, and a navigation act." The fourth section reported was as follows:

"'No tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State nor on the migration nor importation of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit; nor shall such migration nor importation be prohibited.'

"Mr. Gerry thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to Slavery, *but we ought to be careful not to give any sanction.*"

Sir, will members from Massachusetts, the successors of Gerry, here to-day, maintain the doctrine which he laid down? Will they refuse all sanction of slavery, by refusing to legislate in its favor? Will they discard the proposition before us, as an indignity to the representatives of freemen? I trust they will. Mr. Madison informs us that "Mr. Sherman (of Connecticut) was opposed to any tax on slaves, as making the matter worse, *because it implied they were property.*"

Sir, Mr. Sherman, that patriot of distinguished ability, of the most unsullied purity, of the highest devotion to our country, would do no act which would sanction slavery, or imply that slaves were property. Since that day, more than sixty years have elapsed. Sherman has long since been gathered to his fathers. His precepts and examples are left on record for our instruction. Light and knowledge have progressed, mankind are advancing in refinement; yet, Sir, an honorable member of his House from Connecticut, a successor of her favourite and distinguished Sherman, the present chairman of an important committee of this body, one who has long served here, and who is about to be transferred to the other end of the Capitol, silently unites in reporting to this body a bill to tax his constituents and the people of the North to pay for the body of a fellow-man as property. Sir, when that gentleman gets into the Senate, he and I shall be separated from each other. I shall be unable to follow him there, but I would now remind him of the example of this illustrious predecessor, and I would ask him if he intends to oppose to-day the doctrine of Sherman in 1787?

I cannot withhold the expression of my regret that any Northern member, particularly a Northern Whig of experience, should have tacitly acquiesced in presenting to us a proposition so offensive to every sentiment of freedom.

I appeal to the members from Connecticut to come forward to-day in support of the doctrine which Sherman proclaimed at the adoption of the Constitution. Will they acknowledge, in direct terms, by voting for this bill, that slaves are property under the Federal Constitution? Sherman would do no act that could imply such an acknowledgment. But let us trace the proceedings of the Convention a little further.

The discussion, it will be observed, turned upon the peculiar phraseology of the second part of the report, which, in classifying slaves as merchandise, seemed to imply that they were *property*. No one expressed a desire that such an idea should be imbodied in the Constitution; on the contrary, there was a manifest desire, on the part of the members of the Convention, to shape the phraseology as to exclude the construction given to it by Mr. Sherman. Mr. Madison, it seems, agreed with that gentleman. He thus reports himself:

"Mr. Madison *thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.*

"Colonel Mason, (in answer to Mr. Gouverneur Morris.) The provision, as it now stands, *was necessary for the case of convicts*, in order to prevent the introduction of them.

"Still, the Convention was not satisfied, and it was finally agreed, *nem. con.* to have the clause read:

"'But a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars *for each person.*'

"And then the second part, as amended, was agreed to."

Thus, Sir, the Convention that framed the Constitution expressed their denial that slaves were property. They have left no doubt on that point; they would use no language which could leave an implication of the doctrine now contended for by Southern gentleman. It was discarded by them, but is now urged upon us. "*Mr. Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men.*"

Sir, the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Woodward,] asked, with great emphasis, "if any member of that Convention was so *stupid* as to doubt the propriety of holding property in men?" I answer, James Madison, the father of the Constitution, a Southern man, and afterwards President of the United States, has left on record his denial of that doctrine. I stand here now the advocate of the principles of 1776—maintained by the entire Convention that framed the Constitution in 1787, including the illustrious Madison, and Sherman, and Gerry. Where are the representatives of Virginia to-day? Where the successors of Washington, of Jefferson, of Henry, and of Madison? Sir, the representatives of that "Old Dominion," the mother of statesmen and of States, now stand here as the advocates of oppression, degradation, and abject slavery. They, Sir, denying the doctrines of the Constitution—the doctrines of Washington and his compatriots—insist, that one portion of mankind may own the other as *property*. Ah! Sir, Virginia has fallen; "the fine gold has become dim." Her sons no longer lead the hosts of freedom; they have become hostile to the sentiment of their fathers; her people breed men, like oxen, for the shambles; drive women to market, and traffic in babes and children; moral darkness broods over her, and physical desolation reigns throughout her dominion.

Sir, these arguments can have little effect upon Southern men. They cannot and will not take any definite position on this subject. *To-day*, they will insist that slaves are not persons, but property. *To-morrow*, should a different question come before us, they will insist that slaves are *not property, but persons.* I have for ten years been striving to find out what definite principles Southern men hold on this subject, but I find that they refuse to adhere to any principle whatever. They are sometimes one way, and sometimes the other. "Everything by turns, and nothing long," as the saying is. And now, Sir, as an illustration of what I have stated, I venture to proclaim that not a member south of Mason and Dixon's line, dare rise in his place and say that he adopts the doctrine, either that slaves are persons or that they are property. If such a member be present, I challenge him to rise in his place and say which side of this question he will espouse and adhere to; and I now offer for that purpose to yield the floor. [Mr. Giddings paused.]

Mr. Woodward, of South Carolina, rose and stated, in substance, that slaves were regarded as both persons *and* property.

Mr. Giddings. Yes, they are a sort of amphibious animal—neither one nor the other, but composed of both. They are partly *persons* and partly *things*; part human and part inanimate. Well, Sir, this I call "*sitting on the fence.*" I was aware that gentlemen could not be provoked to take any fixed position against Slavery. The truth is, Slavery itself is an anamoly. It is opposed to all moral principle, as well as to natural rights, and can be reconciled to no rule of propriety. But to return to the Constitution. In every instance in which reference to slaves is made in the Constitution they are termed *persons.* Thus, in fixing the ratio of representation, it provides that "the number shall be ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all *other persons.*" It is clear that the framers not only regarded slaves as persons, but they were spoken of as *other* persons, thus placing them upon the same general basis as freemen. In the ninth section of the first article, the Constitution provides, that "the migration or importation of such *persons* as any of the States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited until the year 1808," &c. Here, again, the language is carefully used to distinguish slaves from property. Again, in the second section of the third article, the Constitution provides: "No *person* held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, and escaping into another, shall, by any law or regulation thereof, be discharged from such service or labour." Thus, in every instance in which the Constitution refers to slaves, they are designated as *persons*, contradistinguishing them from property. We are not only informed that the framers regarded it as wrong to admit in the Constitution "that there could be property in man," but they carefully employed such language, in framing that instrument, as to preclude such a presumption. So clear have they left this subject, that no man who examines it can have doubts. Nor is the subject left at this point. The construction of the Constitution belongs to the judicial branch of the Government.

In the case of Groves *vs.* Slaughter and others, (15 Peters's Reports, 449,) this question came distinctly before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Constitution of Mississippi had prohibited the introduction of slaves into that State after a certain day. Slaves were taken there and sold on a credit, after the time allowed by the Constitution of that State. Suit was commenced on the note given in consideration of the slaves. The defence set up, that the contract was illegal and void under the Constitution of that State, which prohibited the sale therein of slaves from without the State. The reply to that was, that slaves were *property*, and therefore the State of Mississippi had no power to prohibit their introduction into the State, as the power to regulate commerce between the States belonged only to Congress. In deciding the law, Judge McLean said:

"By the laws of certain States, slaves, are treated as property; and the Constitution of Mississippi prohibits their being brought into that State by citizens of other States for sale or as merchandise. Merchandise is a comprehensive term and may include every article of traffic, whether foreign or domestic, which is properly embraced by a commercial regulation. But if slaves are considered in some of the States as merchandise, that cannot divest them of the leading and controlling quality of persons, by which they are designated in the Constitution. The character of property is given them by the local law. This law is respected, and all rights under it are protected by the Federal authorities; but the Constitution acts upon slaves as persons, and not as property."

If slaves be property, slave markets may be opened in Boston, and Massachusetts will have no power to prohibit these revolting scenes which are witnessed in this city. If the doctrine contended for by Southern men be correct, no State can exclude slave markets from its territory, or consecrate its soil to freedom. It well becomes Southern gentlemen to examine this subject before they base themselves upon the principle that slaves are property. Let that be established, and Congress will have power to prohibit the internal slave trade at its pleasure. We may then take slaves from their masters, as we do other property.

Gentlemen from the slave States, being accustomed to regard slaves as property, under their State laws, draw no distinction between the laws of the slave States and those of the Federal Government. Persons educated in the slave States, coming into the office of President, or into either of the Executive Departments, or into either House of Congress, are likely to bring with them the views imbibed in such States. Thus we find that in some instances the President of the United States and other officers of the Government have, at times, without examination, regarded slaves as property; and, in some instances, have paid the public funds for such slaves, not only without authority of law, but in opposition to the spirit and letter of the Federal Compact. The same officers, after having their attention called particularly to the subject, have seen their error, changed their practice, and refused to regard slaves as property. Such language is used in the treaty of Ghent, to which I called the attention of this committee in the early part of my remarks. But in these cases the language was employed without reference to the relation which Slavery holds to the Federal Constitution, as contradistinguished from the character it possesses under the States in which it exists.

But if we examine the subject a little more closely, we shall find that slaves are not regarded merely as property in any part of the country. In every State of the Union they are punishable for crimes under the State laws. Such is not the case with any species of property. Murder may be committed upon slaves in any State, and the murderer hanged therefor. But no such punishment applies to the killing of any other species of property. Slaves in such States are, however, for certain purposes, under their laws, regarded as a "*peculiar kind of property.*" But the laws of those States are *local*, and have no bearing upon the relations which the Federal Government holds to the institution. Slavery is the creature of municipal law, and can extend no farther than such municipal enactment has force. It is, therefore, strictly confined to the jurisdiction creating it. So strictly is this rule of law observed by courts of justice, that if a slave escape from his master on to free soil, but for a moment, he becomes free forever. Thus, in the case of Forbes *vs.* Cochran *et al.*, (vide 2 Barnwell & Cresswell, 448,) Bayley, justice, remarked, "Slavery is a local law, and therefore, if a man wish to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains; for the instant they get beyond the limits where Slavery is recognized by the local laws, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from prison, they are free." The same principles were decided in the case of Sommersett, (see vol. 20, State Trials, and by those of nearly all of the several States of the Union. *Property* may be taken by the owner from one State to another, or from one nation to another; but if a man voluntarily take his slave or send him to a free State, the moment he enters such State he becomes a freeman. From that moment the master's power over him ceases, and he can no more be enslaved. The property in such case is instantaneously transformed into a *person.* But to examine this question a little further. Suppose the slaves of South Carolina, or of all the slave States, should rise in the plenitude of their power, assert their own rights, and enslave the whites, they would then become the *owners*, and their present masters would be transformed into property, according to this slaveholding logic. But I find I have no time to pursue this part of the subject further.

The gentlman from Maryland [Mr. Chapman] has cited a case where the twenty-eighth Congress passed a law directing payment to be made to Depeyster and another for a slave lost in the Florida war. This case is cited as a precedent to show that we have recognized slaves as property. I myself advocate the precedents as strongly as any member of this House. I would deal out equal justice to all who apply for it. It is, therefore, proper that we should look to the former practice of this body in relation to the question.

After the close of the late war with England, in the year 1816, a law was passed allowing compensation to the owners of property lost or destroyed in the public service during the existence of hostilities. Pending the bill, an amendment was offered, providing for the payment of slaves lost in the public service. After discussion, the amendment was rejected in Committee of the Whole, only thirty rising in its favour. Yes, Sir; at that time, only thirty members of this House regarded slaves as property.

Many petitions were subsequently presented, calling on Congress to pay for slaves killed in the public service, but no committee could be found who would report in favour of such a claim. In 1828—'29, the case of D'Autpeire came before the Committee of Claims. The petitioner owned a slave, a horse, and a cart. On the day of the battle at New Orleans, they were pressed into the public service. The slave and horse were killed, and the cart destroyed, by the cannon-shot of the enemy. The owner then applied to Congress for compensation. The committee reported in favour of paying for the horse and cart, but against paying for the slave. When the bill came up in the House, an amendment was offered, giving compensation for the slave. The subject was debated for weeks. Those who opposed the amendment, based their objection upon the distinct principle that slaves were not property. And the bill was finally laid upon the table by a large majority.

At a more recent period, in 1832, Francis Larche, of New Orleans, presented a claim precisely similar to that just quoted, and it was referred to the Committee of Claims. The committee, in reporting upon the case, say they "had caused examination to be made at the Treasury Department, to see if slaves who had been killed in public service during the Revolutionary War had been paid for; and they learned that no such instance could be found." They also cite many cases in which compensation had been refused. These cases were of the character to obtain the most favourable consideration; but no committee could in that day be found willing to admit the moral and constitutional absurdity, that under our Federal compact slaves could be regarded as property. Yet, Sir, they had not the advantages which we possess. "The Madison Papers," setting forth the views of those who framed the Constitution, were not then published; nor had the subject of that time been adjudicated in the Supreme Court. I wish the ear of every member of this body, when I assure them and the country that, from 1789 down to 1842, the committees of this body, uniformly rejected all claims for slaves lost in the public service, regarding them as *persons*, and not as property.

In the 27th Congress, the claim of James Watson for slaves was committed to the Committee of Claims, of which I was myself an humble member. The friends of the claim, by some means, learned that that Committee had always reported against the payment for slaves.—They therefore obtained the transfer of that case to the Committee on Indian Affairs, who reported a bill to pay for the slaves claimed by Watson. That report, made six years since, was the first in favour of paying for slaves as property, so far as my knowledge extends, ever made to this body, under our present Constitution, or prior to its adoption. During that Congress, one other of the like character was made by the Committee on Territories. The bill last mentioned was rejected, on a call of the yeas and nays, after a full discussion, only thirty-six votes being given in its favour. No final vote was ever taken on any other case of the kind, except the one referred to by the gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. Chapman,] which passed the 28th Congress. I was myself aware of the nature of that bill, and so was the late venerable member from Massachusetts, [Mr. Adams,] now deceased. We both intended to have made known to the House its character; but I was called away on one of those days when private bills were under consideration, and Mr. Adams's attention was diverted from it by some means, and the bill passed the House *sub silentio*, no one objecting to it; and I presume not a member of the body present, who understood both the character of the bill and the practice of the House on such claims, was conscious of its passage. If such members were here, they suffered it to pass without calling the attention of the House to it. Being, as it were, thus smuggled through this body, it can have no force as a precedent. The whole practice of Congress, when acting understandingly, from the adoption of the Constitution to this day, has been a denial of the doctrine that slaves are property under the Federal Constitution. The decision of our courts are to the same effect. The Constitution itself, in every instance in which it refers to them, denominates them *persons*, and not property.—The Declaration of Independence declares them to have been created *equal with ourselves.* The sentiment of the civilized world recognizes them as *men*, as *brethren.* Yet we are called on to disregard all the considerations, and to enter upon an inquiry of the title by which one man holds another as property, and to determine the value of chattelized humanity. Northern members now see the respectful petitions of tens of thousands of their own constituents, praying to be released from the support of Slavery, disregarded and treated with silent contempt. They are sent to our committees; these they remain forever. From that bourne "no traveller returns."—The voice of humanity is there silenced; and those petitions, at the bidding of the slave power, sleep the sleep of death. No effort of ours, no artifice of legislation we can exert, can get the subject before this House. No exhibition of the crimes, the appalling guilt of the slave trade carried on in this city before our eyes and before the nation, can provoke those committees to permit this body to pass judgment either for or against the prayers of hundreds of thousands of Northern lovers of freedom; but a single slaveholder sends his petition here, praying us to involve our people in the burden of Slavery in Maryland; to take the funds of Northern philanthropists to pay for human flesh; and your committees—even Northern men on those committees—unite in favour of the measure; and this whole body is at once engaged upon a bill to involve our people still more in the expense and in the crime of supporting that institution, not merely in this District, but in Maryland. Will Northern Whigs, will Northern Democrats, meekly bow to such dictation? Will we continue to do the bidding of Southern masters, and, in our official character, enter upon this proposed slave trade? No; self-respect forbids it. The Constitution, our oath of office, the age in which we live, the opinions of civilized men, the laws of nature, and the voice of God, forbid that we shall prostitute the dignity of our station thus to uphold oppression and encourage crime.

A Voice from the Pulpit.—We take pleasure in recording the fact that at least *one* of the pulpits in this town has borne a faithful testimony against the crimes so recently enacted at our National Capitol. Elder Peck, of the Baptist Church, preached on the subject last Sabbath afternoon, with an earnestness that showed how deeply he felt our national degradation and shame, and how warm were his sympathies for the outraged victims of slaveholding rapacity and vengeance. Would that every pulpit, not only in this town, but in New England and all the free States, might utter a testimony for God and Liberty equally earnest and emphatic. They would thus make the hearts of tyrants quake with fear and awaken joy not only in the hearts of the good in this world, but even among the redeemed in Heaven! How are such crimes to be put away while the Press and Pulpit—those mighty agencies which sway the civilized world—fail to utter an adequate testimony against them? Editor, Minister, Man! whoever you are, if you mean to be accounted "a man and no mouse," speak out!—*Blackstone Chronicle.*

Decision of the Supreme Court in the Carlisle Slave Riot Case.—An argument took place during last week, on a writ of error, before the Supreme Court, now sitting at Harrisburg, in the case of the eleven coloured men who were committed at Carlisle last year, on a charge of riot, growing out of an attempt to remove some fugitive slaves out of that place by their master, the particulars of which were given at the time of their occurrence. Each of the defendents were sentenced to undergo imprisonment in the Eastern Penitentiary for the term of three years. The counsel for the defendants contended that the Court erred in sentencing to imprisonment in the Eastern Penitentiary, the offence being but a misdemeanor, for which the law authorizes imprisonment in the prison of the county in which the offence was committed. The Deputy Attorney General for Cumberland County appeared in behalf of the Commonwealth, and Charles Gibbons, Esq. for the prisoners. The Court decided to set aside the judgment of the Court below, and yesterday the keeper of the Penitentiary received a discharge for the prisoners, all of whom were enlarged.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

Stephen Redden has, we learn from the *Baltimore Sun*, been convicted in Somerset County, Maryland, of "having in his possession certain pictures of an abolition character, contrary to the act of the Assembly in such cases." The *Sun* does not state what is the penalty attached to the heinous crime of having abolition pictures in one's possession.—*Tribune.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1848.

Freedom.

Are we, then, wholly fallen? Can it be
That thou, Northwind, that from thy mountains bring'st,
Their spirit to our plains, and thou, blue sea,
Who on our rocks thy wreaths of freedom fling'st
As on an altar, can it be that ye
Have wasted inspiration on dead ears
Dulled with the too familiar clank of chains?
The people's heart is like a harp for years
Hung where some petrifying torrent rains
Its snow-encrusting spray: the palsied chords
Faint and more faint make answer to the tears
That drip upon them: idle are all words;
Only a silver plectrum wakes the tone
Deep-buried 'neath that ever-thickening stone.

We are not free: Freedom doth not consist
In musing with our faces tow'rd the Past,
While petty cares, and crawling interests, twist
Their spider-threads about us, which at last
Grow strong as iron chains to cramp, and bind
In formal narrowness heart, soul and mind:
Freedom is recreated, year by year,
In hearts wide-open on the Godward side,
In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling sphere,
In minds that sway the future like a tide;
No broadest creeds can hold her and no codes,
She chooses men for her august abodes,
Building them fair and fronting to the dawn;
Yet, when we seek her, we but find a few
Light footprints leading mornward through the dew;
Before the day had risen, she was gone.

And we must follow: swiftly runs she on,
And, if our steps should slacken in despair,
Half turns her face, half smiles through golden hair,
Forever yielding, never wholly won:
That is not love which pauses in the race
Two close-linked names on fleeting sand to trace;
Freedom gained yesterday is no more ours;
Men gather but dry seeds of last years flowers;
Still there 's a charm ungranted, still a grace,
Still rosy Hope, the free, the unattained,
Makes us Possesion's languid hand let fall;
'Tis but a fragment of ourselves is gained,
The Future brings us more, but never all.

And, as the finder of some unknown realm,
Mounting a summit whence he thinks to see
On either side of him the imprisoning sea,
Beholds, above the clouds that overwhelm
The valley-land, peak after snowy peak
Stretch out of sight, each like a silver helm
Beneath its plume of smoke, sublime and bleak,
And what he thought an island finds to be
A continent to him first oped,—so we
Can from our height of Freedom look along
A boundless future, ours if we be strong;
Or if we shrink, better remount our ships
And, fleeing God's express design, trace back
The hero-freighted Mayflower's prophet-track
To Europe entering her bloodred eclipse.

The Whig Nominations.

Nobody, we presume, will hear for the first time from us, that Zachary Taylor was nominated, last week, at Philadelphia, as the Whig candidate for the Presidency; and nobody, who understands what power it is that gives us rulers, that makes and unmakes—Heaven save the mark!—our *great* men, will be either surprised or disappointed. General Taylor, to-be-sure, had declared that he should be a candidate in spite of all parties; he had declined to avow himself a Whig, or in favour of Whig measures; he had asserted on the contrary, that he would not be a partisan candidate; he is entirely uncommitted to the North, on the question of the extension of Slavery, which the Whigs have avowed as their great measure; he is known chiefly, and indeed only, as a whipper-in of bloodhounds in an Indian hunt in Florida, and as the successful leader of certain predatory bands which defeated in several skirmishes some undisciplined, half-breed Indians in Mexico; the only quality of statesmanship it is certain he possesses, is the obstinate persistence belonging to the bull-dog, which animal, in personal appearance, he so much resembles; and the only evidence he has given of his fitness to fill an office requiring some degree of mental capacity, is the good choice he has made of a man to write his letters—a task he has himself attempted just often enough to prove that he is incapable of performing it intelligibly; but in all this there is no reason why he should not be the chosen leader of the Whigs. It is an abuse of language, however, to call him their candidate; the most that can be said is, that he accepts their formal disbanding of the party for his sake, and will generously permit himself to be chosen by their suffrages. We sincerely trust that in one respect he may be an instrument of good, and that his administration will be the thorough extermination of a party which is so much worse than its great opponent, that to all their sins it adds that of cowardice and hypocrisy.

As Abolitionists and Disunionists this nomination is to us eminently satisfactory. It is a long stride taken by the people toward that consummation for which we are labouring. It will not abolish Slavery, and it will not dissolve the Union. It is, on the other hand, meant to strengthen both, but like every measure for that special purpose, it will do much to defeat its object. It is a long pull, and a strong pull, upon the cord which binds us together as one people, and which is already stretched almost to its utmost tension, and will do much to snap it. If we only had a few more men bold at our end of the rope it would break like burning flax.

But unfortunately we have not the men yet. Although General Taylor is more decidedly a Southern candidate than any that has ever before been nominated for the Presidency; though he has not a single qualification, except that of being a slaveholder, for the office; though all that is known about him should make him peculiarly obnoxious to the North; though on a fourth and last ballot which made him the choice of the Convention, the Northern vote against him, was very nearly equal to that of the South in his favour, and was nearly two-thirds larger than that of the North on the same side; and though for him, an old leader, for whom there is more enthusiasm and a stronger personal attachment on the part of his friends, than exists toward any other public man in this country, has been sacrificed with a cold-blooded indifference, almost unparalleled in the history of parties among us; yet there is not manliness enough among that large portion of the Northern Whigs, who feel themselves most deeply aggrieved by this nomination, even to grumble above their breaths. A few men, like Judge Allen, and Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, who quitted themselves so much like men in the Convention, will oppose the election, as they opposed the nomination of Taylor. These are the men who will take hold of our end of the rope in good earnest, and try its strength, unless things mend speedily;—a hope unfortunately that many of them cling to—but there are we are sorry to say, but few of them. The great body of the party feeling themselves, as they do, cheated, befooled, trampled, and spit upon, will submit to the indignities put upon them by their Southern overseers, and then thankfully do their bidding. We hardly dare hope that even a fraction of them may be whipped into a decent show of resistance.

Gen. Taylor's election, even with so respectable a name as Millard Fillmore's upon the same ticket, is by no means certain. The Democrats always poll a strong vote, and if they could only calculate precisely how many were needed to elect their candidate, would make such arrangements—as they do in our city elections—as would almost certainly ensure their success; there will be some disaffection among the Whigs, and it may be made to spread to a most respectable extent, if the proper pains are taken by the minority; the Young Democrats will doubtless, bring into the field a dangerous competitor to their old friends, in any fair fight; the Liberty party people have their handful, the Liberty League theirs, and the Free Soil party theirs, but even handsful count in such times as these. Speculations upon the result, however, have little interest to us. It matters little to the real welfare of all the people who shall be President. Underneath these questions lies one of far greater moment, and they are important only so far as they affect this.

The Jefferson Proviso.

Mr. S. P. Chase,—we presume from the initials—has communicated the following interesting scrap of history to the Cincinnati Gazette. It shows not only the spirit of the Young Republic on the subject of Slavery, and the wish of the great apostle of Democracy, but that in spite of these, the slave-power then, as now, had everything her own way. How different would have been the destiny of this nation but for these *two* votes from slaveholding States!

To the Editors of the Cincinnati Gazette:

Gentlemen:—I desire to call the attention of your readers to a remarkable fact which has not been noticed, so far as I have observed, in any of the discussions which have arisen in respect to the limitation of Slavery.

It is this: The proposition of Mr. Jefferson in 1784 was not that Slavery should be excluded from the territory northwest of the Ohio, but that Slavery should be excluded faom ALL territoy ceded or to be ceded by individual States to the United States, wherever situated.

On the first of March, 1784, a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Jefferson, submitted a plan for the government of—not the Northwestern—but the Western territory. This territory was described as lying between the thirty-first degree—then the extreme Southern boundary of the United States, and the Northern boundary, not then exactly defined, but North of the 47th degree. It was proposed to divide this territory into seventeen States, the first eight lying between the Mississippi and a line drawn due North from the 31st parallel to the Northern boundary of the United States, through the falls of the Ohio, the next eight lying between this line and a similar line drawn through the western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and the other State was to possess the territory lying between the last line, Lake Erie, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio river.

After thus providing for the divison of the whole territory of the United States, acquired or to be acquired, without respect to degrees of latitude, into independent States, the Plan of Jefferson proceeded to provide that these States should be free States. This was the proviso which he proposed: "Provided, that after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slaves nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

This Proviso was stricken out of the plan on the 19th of April, 1784, on the motion of Mr. Spaight of North Carolina, eleven States being represented in the vote.—The question on motion to strike out, in that Congress, was put in this form, "Shall the clause stand?" If nine States voted "aye," the motion to strike out failed; if no States or any less number than nine voted "aye," the clause was stricken out. Upon the question being put, on Mr. Spaight's motion, "shall this clause stand?" New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, seven States, voted "aye." Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, three States voted "no," and North Carolina was divided. Thus seven States were for the Proviso and three against it. Of the three thus against it, one was Virginia, represented by three delegates, of whom one, Mr. Jefferson was for it, and two Messrs. Hardy and Mercer were against it. Had but one of Mr. Jefferson's colleagues shared his spirit, and had Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, voted with his colleague, Mr. Williamson, the Proviso would have been adopted. The eleven States present and voting were represented by twenty-three delegates. Of these, sixteen for the Proviso and seven only against it. Thus with a majority of two-thirds of the States and two-thirds of the delegates in its favour, the Jefferson Proviso was defeated. What vast consequences have flowed from that minority decision!

S. P. C.

John Hunn and Thomas Garrett.—The last num- of the *Blue Hen's Chicken* contains an account from Garrett and Hunn of the proceedings against them in the U. S. Circuit Court of Delaware, and of precisely how far they were concerned in aiding and abetting the alledged fugitives in feloniously walking away with themselves. The statements made by them and Garrett are essentially the same as that which appeared in last week's Standard. We shall, however, copy them into next week's paper, that our readers may have a more circumstantial account of the risk a man runs in the United States who commits, in any degree, the indictable offenee of being commonly humane.

Louisville Examiner.—Mr. Vaughan who has hitherto been the principal editor of the *Examiner*, we regret to learn has retired from that post, and for the future is to act only as a correspondent. Under his management the Examiner has been one of the best papers in the country,—sound, earnest, and uncompromising on the subject of Slavery, excellent as a newspaper, and of high literary character. Mr. Cosby, however, who has been his assistant, and the Rev. J. H. Heywood, and Professor Noble Butler, are to be the future editors. Mr. Heywood is a Unitarian clergyman, and we believe a thorough Abolitionist: of Professor Butler we know nothing, but we do not believe that Mr. Vaughan would entrust the paper, to establish which he laboured so assiduously, which has done, and may do, so much for the cause of Kentucky, to hands not worthy to receive it.

Mr. Giddings's Position.—A correspondent of the (Cleveland, O.) *True Democrat*, writing from Painesville, gives an account of a political meeting at that place, which was addressed by Mr. Giddings. The writer says:

Mr. G. has lost nearly all his party feelings. If the Whigs do not go against the extension of Slavery, and against men who are in favour of Slavery, then he and the Whigs must separate. He goes with any party which holds the high and holy principle of human liberty to be paramount to all others. Good men will never follow party into such absurdities as many partisans adopt.

He referred to his vote for Speaker. He said there were reasons besides those which have been published, which influenced his vote against Robert C. Winthrop. He said *he* was satisfied, (though he had not yet obtained that kind of proof necessary to make it bear upon the world,) that a bargain had been made between the South and Winthrop, that he should support Taylor for President, and should receive the Speakership in return. Show me a man, said he, that aspires to high office in Congress, and I will show you a man who has sold the North to the South, so far as he can do it.

He defined the duty of Christian churches and ministers of the Gospel in the North, in relation to Slavery. He asserted, most positively, that he would never again vote for any man who will not take the side of human liberty.

A voice—"Not excepting Henry Clay?"

Mr. G.—"Not excepting any man."

Dr. L. Major.—We saw a person at the Post Office on Wednesday last, answering the description fully of the above-named individual, and from circumstances which have since transpired, we are firmly convinced it was the same *individual* who was so summarily expelled from Barnwell Village a short time since. He stated that he was on his way to Lexington, C. H. and will proceed to Georgia. We advise our friends to be on the look out.

We cut the above paragraph, some two or three weeks since, from an exchange paper, which stated that it was from the *South Carolinian*, and referred to an itinerant phrenological lecturer, who was banished from Southern territory, on a mock conviction of "possum hunting with negroes, and delivering philosophical lectures to them on freedom." The particulars of the story, farther than this, we have not seen.

An accident befell another lecturer on phrenology, in South Carolina, which has not yet got into the newspapers, but which came to us quite direct from some persons who arrived in this city from Charleston, a few days since. The lecturer—one notorious all over the country for his lectures on phrenology and magnetism, but whose name, as we may not have all the details absolutely correct, we do not care to mention—was holding forth to a delighted audience on his favourite subject in Charleston.—It is his habit to magnetize a subject, and by exciting some particular organ in the brain of that person, he proves, or proposes to, the truth of both sciences. On the occasion referred to, he had, if we have got the story correct, excited in the subject the organ of benevolence. The display of that amiable trait was satisfactory. The lecturer was requested to excite the organ of language in connection with that of benevolence. He complied; the result was a very natural, though an entirely unexpected one—the subject at once commenced an Anti-Slavery address! The audience declared themselves insulted and outraged on their own hearth-stones, and great confusion and excitement prevailed. But the wily lecturer was not to be baulked of his class by any such accident. He immediately announced his entire willingness to pronounce a discourse which should satisfy the people of Charleston that he was entirely orthodox on the subject of Slavery, and that he considered that system peculiarly adapted to ensure the happiness of the human family.

We know very little about phrenology, and less about magnetism, but we are certain that the American cranium ought to have, if the former is true, a large organ of puppyism, which exercises a complete control over the whole character; and, that there is a magnetism in our atmosphere

with prayer by as many pious hypocrites, headed by the Rev. Mr. Brainard, of this city.

On Wednesday the reverse of the comedy was going on in Independence Square, where Gen eral Cass and Thomas H. Benton were holding a levee for the accommodation of the Democracy. They both looked jaded and exhausted, and Mr. Benton particularly seemed just on the point of giving up the ghost. As for the General, he looked as if the crowd could not, by any possibility, presume too far upon his good-nature. In the meantime General Houston, (his Herculean frame towering above the crowd that followed him,) was scouring the walks of the square, pausing every few hundred yards, in order to allow the gratified democracy a view of the animal standing. Nothing was wanting to complete the spectacle but the tambourine and the dancing bear. The trio left for your city in the morning train.

A National Reform Convention has also been in session in the city for several days. I attended but one of its meetings owing to want of time, but I am told that they were all highly interesting. Mrs. Townsend, a delegate to the Convention from Rhode Island, made a very animated speech, declaring that a genuine philanthropy extended to the whole human race, to the black as well as to the white men. During the discussions relative to the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, a test was introduced, the effect of which was to exclude slaveholders from the nomination. One individual from New York expressed his desire to know whether he was attending the sessions of a National Reform Convention, or of an "abolition *click*," to which Mr. Snodgrass, of Baltimore very properly retorted by saying that *he* wished to know whether the Convention was a *pro-slavery* clique. The slave party, I am informed, withdrew on the adoption of the test, which adoption it is due to Mr. Snodgrass to say, was, in a great measure, owing to his exertions.

Other interesting events have transpired here since my last, but my letter is already too long.

Very truly, yours,

H. W. G.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

Matters and things in Ireland.—Young Ireland and the British Government—difficulties in the way of Repeal—Condition of the people—the causes—Clubs—The blustering of Young Ireland—The new Sedition Act—John Mitchell—his principles—his measures—his character—Arrogant tone of the English press—Trial of Mitchell—State of Europe—an unnecessary apology.

DUBLIN, May 26, 1848.

MY DEAR GAY:—Since I wrote to you last we have been kept in hot water. No blows have been struck, no blood spilt, none of the terrible things that were threatened have been done—but of talk, bluster, and threats, there has been no end. The quarrel has all been between the Government and the Young Ireland party, headed by John Mitchell, William Smith O'Brien, and a number of fiery young barristers, who say that they are ready for anything and everything, provided only they can expel the English dominion from Ireland, and make a nation of us once more. There are several little difficulties in the way. Ireland is full of British troops, and as Dublin is the focus of the prevalent disaffection, there were never so many soldiers in Dublin at any former time, as there are at this present writing. The British empire is at peace with all the world. The English interest is very strong in Ireland just now. There is a large number of quiet people who have possessions in flocks and herds, and much land—moneyed men—who talk of investments, shares, and such like. They, of whatever creed, are not much inclined to venture what they have got upon the bloody chances of a civil war, which would be sure to leave them losers, however it might end. If the Irish people were unanimous, which they are as little likely to be as any people on earth, I do n't believe that even the tremendous military and naval power of England could hold them to her allegiance. No country containing eight millions of souls was ever held for any great length of time in subjection to another, against the consent of the intelligence and wealth of her people. Ireland is no exception. The condition of a large portion of our population is deplorable. It could hardly be worse than it is. The older I grow the more miserable and hopeless her condition appears to me. It is calculated that there are fully three millions of paupers in Ireland, who have not a shilling of their own in the world, nor the means of earning it—who do not own a bit of land, who are clad in rags, and have no prospect of anything better than the cold, cheerless and comfortless workhouse, or of starvation, in their miserable old age. It would be strange indeed if these were not disaffected. The poor farmers and the small shopkeepers are often not much better off. The larger farmers and the embarrassed landlords are overwhelmed by the oppressive demands for poor rate, which, combined with their debts and the expenditure requisite for the maintenance of their families in the style they have been used to, drive them to their wits end. Numbers of these are now disaffected who blazed high with loyalty when they did as they pleased with their tenantry, drank toasts in honour of Protestant ascendancy, and were utterly irresponsible for the maintenance of that pauperism which they tended to multiply by their tyranny, aided by that suicidal policy for which the Government of the present day are reaping a heavy retribution.

We have a great many Young Ireland clubs in full operation, nearly all made up of young fellows—

"Souls made of fire, and children of the Sun,
With whom revenge is virtue."

They are the nucleus of the pending revolution. Terrible talkers and extravagantly foolish. If their object were the most glorious and virtuous that the heart of man could conceive, they have abundantly proved that it must perish with such supporters. Their aim is the forcible separation of Great Britain and Ireland in the teeth of all opposition from all parts of this vast empire. War being a game made up of brute force, frauds, cunning, skill, and chance—medley, in pretty equal proportions, it is plain that no man is qualified to be a leader who cannot keep his own counsel—who cannot quietly plan and promptly execute. Now the Young Ireland writers and talkers have been acting in a way which, whatever credit it entitles them to for candour and magnanimity, as men who would scorn to take a shabby advantage, is very little calculated to promote their success as conspirators. They have kept up this agitation for months by an incessant torrent of threats as to what they were ready to do, and how they meant to go about it, and recommendations to their readers and hearers, and all Ireland, to follow their example. And the advice has been so well followed, that all who never meant to take part of the scuffle, peaceable people like myself—of whom there is a vast number—are fairly sick of this intolerable quantity of menace with so very much less than a pennyworth of performance.

Like babies who begin to play "hide and seek," and who can't refrain from revealing the place of their concealment, these ardent but very silly politicians are so full of what they mean to do that they can't avoid telling even their most interested and able opponents all the plans they have resolved on, for demolishing and outwitting them. When the monster steamship, the Great Britain, was launched somewhere near Bristol into a dock with an entrance so narrow that the vessel could not get out, I was greatly rejoiced, for I thought it apractical bull, so gross and so ridiculous that the English could never have the face to laugh at us again for our blunders.—However, I now admit that in this species of manufactures the Young Ireland writers and orators have reasserted our national superiority. The Government have very prudently taken them at their word. Between troops and police, I suppose we have just now more than twice as many soldiers in Dublin as could be found in all the United States previous to your late glorious fray into Mexico All our principal public buildings—Trinity college, the Bank of Ireland, the Linen Hall, the Dublin Society House, and every place that could be employed as a barrack is crambed with soldiers. Wherever you go, you see red coats; regiments of Highlanders, Riflemen, Artillery with trains of huge cannon, parade the streets with all the ostentation of military array, drawn swords and glittering bayonets. The Young Irelanders have nothing to oppose to all this but the wordy war of speeches and newspaper articles. And for their speeches and articles the Government is now prosecuting them. It must be admitted that they did not begin till they had ample provocation. I do n't believe, that since the first formation of Governments, such defiant language has so long been allowed to pass unnoticed. Until within a few weeks the law for the punishment of seditious writing or speaking was extremely indefinite in Ireland, while it subjected the offender in England to the penalties of high treason, including hanging, drawing, quartering, and-so-forth. By a recent act passed to meet this discrepancy, the law; has been assimilated in both countries, the offence of deliberate writing and speaking, with a view to excite war against the Queen, (that is the Government,) for the purpose of depriving her of her royal dignity, or obliging her by threats of force or violence to change her measures, is constituted a felony, punishable with transportation for life, or for any term not less than seven years. The punishment of death is abolished for this offence, but remains as before for the actual crime of taking up arms with this object, or in short, for doing what the others only threaten or recommend to be done.

The trial of the most prominent of the Young Ireland party, and the greatest and most daring offender under the new act, John Mitchell, is to take place to day. He is the editor of the United Irishman, a paper distinguished above all those ever published in Ireland for the audacity of its language and its outspoken hostility to the continuance of any shape or form of English Government or aristocratic influence in Ireland. His style is earnest, nervous, clear, and forcible. He says the very things, and in the very way that the mass of the people like them to be said. He panders to the full to their national antipathies, denounces political economy, the landlords, the Government, and O'Connellism. This *O'Connellism* you must know, means those ridiculous professions of the Great Agitator, as to the value of moral force, in obtaining measures of political amelioration—and of all reform whatever being dearly purchased at the expense of a single drop of blood. These doctrines were ridiculous, because O'Connell's whole career was a contradiction to them. His life was spent in aiming at political changes by the agency of talk, aided by the exhibition of physical force, and of well managed threats as to what so many millions of men could do if provoked to desperation. Mitchell disowns O'Connellism altogether, scorns this practice of inducing the people to pay for "work and labour done" by their political leaders, and lastly, he makes no appeal to the priests. Most of the priests stand aloof from him—a few are his open staunch adherents, but all, with few exceptions, would, I doubt not, heartily rejoice if he could do all that he threatens to do. Their day would come then. The great majority of the Irish people—that is to say, all the poor Irish—are heart and soul for Mitchell's objects, but they are more with the priests, and if ever we have an Irish Republic, (which Heaven forbid!) whoever may be the Conscript Fathers, the clergy will pull the strings and rule the roast.

Mitchell is, I believe, an attorney by profession—but he has thrown away the law since he embarked on the stormy sea of politics. He is a fine looking fellow—with the air of great energy, earnestness, and determination. His private character is said to be good, and I have no doubt whatever of his uprightness and disinterestedness. He seems to have become crazed by brooding over the past wrongs and present misery of Ireland, and to have come to the resolution that no change she could make by any means, could be for the worse. Believing, as I do, that the sword is the clumsiest and least efficient of all ways of making wrong right, and being convinced that the people would be utterly at the mercy of the Government, and their well appointed forces, in the event of an outbreak, I look on the projects of these fanatical patriots with unmingled abhorrence—as not only wicked, but foolish and mistaken. Yet I cannot help sympathizing with such a man as Mitchell, with all his wrong-headedness. I know that he has cause to be angry. I have faith in his integrity. I cannot but admit that much of what he says is true, and in the present state of exasperation and alienation that exists towards England, and with the consciousness that the maintenance of our aristocratic form of Government is inconsistent with all measures necessary to the prosperity of Ireland, I feel that there is little hope for this unfortunate country. I do not doubt that as far as consists with the interests of their class, the intentions of the English Government towards Ireland are good; but they are Englishmen,—and as such they cannot help partaking of that dislike and contempt which prevail in England towards Ireland. The English papers, particularly those published in London, are full of the most galling and contemptuous language respecting us. This might be very natural if it were exhibited by undisguised conquerors, but coming from those who claim a union with us, and resent its repeal as the death blow of their national greatness, it seems very odd. I admit, that a vast majority of the Irish people are steeped in poverty, prejudice, superstition, and ignorance—that they live in miserable dwellings, rendered more wretched by sloth and the absence of cleanliness, and the appliances of civilization—but I say that with our past history and the present state of the laws that regulate landed property, it would be impossible that things could be otherwise. Whilst the tenant farmer holds by a short lease, or at the will of his landlord, he would be a fool to build himself a good house, or drain his land, or manure it, or attempt rotations of crops, or do any of those things which are indispensable to the improvement of his land, because the landlord may eject him and take possession of all his improvements. In fact, as matters stand, the struggle is between the property and the people of Ireland. So far the former have the upper hand, as they certainly have the Government entirely on their side.

It would be difficult to give you an idea of the excitement caused by the trial of Mitchell amongst all our politicians. There is a much larger class here than with you, who care nothing for politics, and ask nothing about them. It is said that the jury is packed—that is to say, selected from a class known to be unfavourable to the prisoner—and I believe it. This being the case, he has no chance of escape; and as threats are the order of the day, it has been threatened, amongst other things, that even if he should be convicted and sentenced to transportation, the Young Irelanders would not allow him to be removed from the country. If they had been in earnest they would have kept the intention to themselves. But being only a parcel of silly youths, they could not. The result is, that the Government is said to have taken extraordinary precaution against a surprise, and that if there be a conviction, Mitchell will be immediately removed from Ireland. Four war steamers came into Dublin yesterday, in addition to some that were already lying there. He is a sanguine man who can look forward to bright days for Ireland, through the gloom of famine, poverty, and evil passions that hang over her head.

The Emperor of Austria has fled from Vienna; things are extremely unsettled in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The strongest condemnation of the past state of all these countries as well as of Ireland, is to be found in their present condition. If they had been properly governed, with a view to the good of the people instead of the aggrandizement of the rulers, their present struggle for a better state of things would not be accompanied, as it is, by violence, convulsions, and anarchy.

With all our troubles, we have charming weather and every present prospect of a fine harvest. I suppose that there never was a greater breadth of land sown than is now to be seen. If some bad laws were abolished, some wild spirits allayed, and a greater spirit of moral independence more prevalent amongst us, I would not despair of a better state of things. Amidst all the turmoil, thousands of honest heads and hearts are labouring for the true prosperity of Ireland. I would not wonder if you were tired of all my politics—but how can I speak of anything else in the present condition of the country? A gossipping letter is always pleasanter than one filled with such dull details as I now send you. But I could not gossip under our present circumstances.

Yours, truly,

RICHARD D. WEBB.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Miscellany:* Lamartine; The Model Baby; Playing at Poverty; The Barnburners and Old Hunkers; Passion for Surgery; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

FIRST PAGE.—*Proslavery:* Letter to Rev. John G. Palfrey. *Selections:* Slavery in the midst of Liberty; Emancipation in the West Indies; Decrease of Population in Cuba; Speech of Mr. Giddings.

Married.

On the 30th ultimo, by the Rev. Mr. Beckwith, of Albion, Mr. NELSON BOSTWICK, of Rochester, to Miss MALVINA A. TREADWELL, of the former place.

In Hingham, (Mass.) June 6, Mr. SAMUEL CROSBY, of the firm of Brackett & Crosby, of this city, to Miss SARAH ELIZABETH, daughter of the late Martin Lincoln, Esq. of Hingham.

In Fayal April 26, Mr. J. W. G. STACKPOLE, of Boston, to Mrs. PATERSON, daughter of the late John B. Dabney, Esq. formerly American Consul at Fayal.

Died.

In Boston, 2d instant, LOUISA CATHERINE, wife of M. D. Kimball, and daughter of T. B. Wales, Esq. aged 36.

In Salem, Hon. JOSHUA HOLYOKE WARD, aged 39, only son of the late Joshua Ward, and grandson of the late venerable and venerated Augustus Holyoke.

In Greenville, (S. C.) May 24, EMMALA E. wife of Hon. Waddy Thompson, for many years M. C. from South Carolina, and subsequently Minister to Mexico.

In Oswego, Kosciusko county, Indiana, on the 10th ultimo, Dr. ZENAS C. JOHNSON, brother of the editor of The Blackstone Chronicle, aged about 45 years.

On the 1st instan', at her residence, St. John's Wood, [England,] aged 41 years, Mrs. Anderson, the vocalist, daughter of Bartalozzi, the celebrated engraver, and sister to Madame Vestris.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SEVEN DAYS LATER FROM ERROPE—Arrival of the Acadia.

The steamship *Acadia*, Capt. Jarvis, arrived here on Saturday morning, about 11 o'clock, in a little less than fourteen days from Liverpool. We have collated from various sources, all the news she brings. It will be observed to be of considerable interest.

FRANCE—The festival of the Champ de Mars, which has been postponed from time to time, was held on the 21st inst. It passed off without the slightest disturbance.

The congratulatory Resolutions of the United States Congress had been communicated to the Government by Mr. Rush, the American Minister.—They were replied to in a brief speech by M. de Lamartine, and a Committee appointed to prepare an address to be sent to the United States Government.

A debate ensued in the Assembly on the 23d inst. on the affairs of Poland, in which M. Lamartine reiterated the principles of non-interference, which he has before avowed.

A decree of Exile is proposed of the Orleans Family. The President of the Assembly had received letters from the Prince de Joinville, and the Duc d'Aumale, and de Nemours, protesting against the Decree. A sort of diary, purporting to have been kept by de Joinville, and breathing the most liberal spirit, has been published in the *Presse*. The purpose of its publication was doubtless to pave the way for the return of the Prince to France, either as a Prince or a simple citizen.

From Lyons we have the following account:

The city of Lyons was much disturbed on the 17th particularly the neighbourhood of the Croix-Rousse, in consequence of the uncertainty which prevailed as to the state of Paris. In the course of the night, about 500 or 600 men of the National Workshops traversed the town in arms, and proceeded to the residence of M. Martin-Bernard, the Government Commissary, to demand the enlargement of the prisoners. Some arrests took place. The workmen made a demonstration against the Palais de Justice, to get their comrades liberated. The accounts since received from Lyons are of a most deplorable character. Disturbances commenced in that city on the morning of 19th instant, which continued throughout the day, and assumed in the evening a truly serious character. Barricades were erected, and the red flag once more hoisted. The prisoners arrested on the previous day had been liberated on the injunction of the revolters. The local authorities were no longer recognized, and the insurgents were masters of the city. Fresh disorders appeared imminent. On the 22d, the situation of Lyons was very alarming. Almost all the barricades which had been erected are still standing, with the exception of those near the Bernardins.

A bloody conflict has taken place at Toulon, between the troops and the operatives of the dockyards, the latter of whom had seized the arsenal.

ITALY—In Naples a collision has taken place between the King's troops and the people. The treachery of the King in not keeping faith under the new Constitution was the cause. Great slaughter, and consequent plunder and distress ensued.

The Provisional Government of Milan and Venice have decreed the necessity of an amalgamation of Lombardy with Piedmont to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

AUSTRIA.—Vienna is in a state of anarchy. The students of the University are the real party in power. The ministry is dissolved, and the royal family fled to Insprack.

PRUSSIA.—The King of Prussia opened the Assembly of the States under the Prussian Constitution on the 22d ult.

THE POLES have suffered another defeat.

SPAIN.—An insurrection took place at Seville on the 13th. It was confined to the military. Order was restored the next day. Sir Henry Bulwer, who has made himself obnoxious for his interference in Spanish affairs, was ordered by the Government to leave the country. He has arrived in England.

DENMARK.—Negotiations for peace have been set on foot, and a final settlement of difficulties between the Danes and Germanic Confederacy seems probable.

From SWEDEN the news is not so favourable.

ENGLAND.—Mr. Hume has postponed his motion on the subject of Reform till the 20th of this month. For the state of affairs in Ireland we refer to the letter of our Dublin correspondent.

ONE WEEK LATER.—On Tuesday evening, the Cunard steamer *America* arrived at Boston, in the unprecedented short passage of *ten days and eight hours*, including stoppage at Halifax. She sailed from Liverpool on the 3d inst. Her news was received in this city by Telegraph on Wednesday morning, and we have room and time only for a very condensed report of it. Mitchell, who was convicted of treason on the 26th, was sentenced on the 27th to fourteen years transportation to Bermuda. He was immediately forwarded to his destination to be incarcerated the first year on board a dock-yard hulk. His wife and children have been adopted by the Repealers, and a subscription set on foot for their maintenance. The types of the *United Irishman* have been seized by the Government, but a new paper is to be immediately started, to be called *The Irish Felon*.

Some disturbances have taken place in London, Bradford, Manchester, Leeds, and other places, but they have been immediately suppressed. The sentence of Mitchell was seized upon by the Chartists as a means of excitement.

At Paris there is entire quiet. The Assembly meets daily surrounded by large bodies of troops.—Their determination to break up Louis Blanc's system of organization of labour has caused deep resentment. It is proposed to distribute a large body of *Ouvriers* in the provinces, and thus lessen the danger in the Capital. Louis Blanc is proved to to have been concerned in the recent attempt at revolution and is to be tried.

Fresh disturbances have broken out at Lyons.—Rothschild's model farm has been burned by incendiaries.

A collision has taken place between the Danes and Germans, and great numbers killed on both sides.

General Items.

Anti-Slavery Movement in Ohio.—A so-called "People's Convention" is called by some three thousand of the voters of Ohio, two-thirds of them Whigs, one-third of them Locofocos and Liberty men, but pledged to support no man for President who is in favour of annexing slave territory to the Union or any territory over which Slavery may extend. The Convention is called for the 21st of June at Columbus, after the Whig and Locofoco National Conventions, and avowedly with the purpose of taking a third man if the candidate of the two parties are in any manner pro-slavery in their opinions.

Captain Slater, of the schooner I. B. Gager, who arrived at this port on Friday, 19th, from Sierra Leone, informs us that on the 15th of April two Brazilian slave schooners were brought into Sierra Leone as prizes to British men-of-war. One of them had four hundred slaves on board, but the other was only fitted up for the reception of them. Capt. S. saw no American men-of-war while he was on the African coast.

John Jacob Astor's Heirs.—Charles Astor Bristed, one of Mr. Astor's grand-children and heirs, has remitted to Washington city, nine hundred dollars, to be expended in the redemption from Slavery of the fugitives of the Pearl. The donation was entirely voluntary, and unsolicited, and was made by him immediately upon learning that these slaves were to be sold. This young gentleman graduated at Yale College, with distinguished honour, a few years since, and completed his education at the University of Cambridge, in England, where though a stranger, and an American, he carried off the highest honours. A youth spent as his has been, and acts like the one we have mentioned above, give reason to hope that the wealth of Astor may prove a source of good, and not "the root of all evil."—*Cincinnati Herald.*

Slaves Liberated.—The Cincinnati Commercia says:—

"A venerable gentleman from the South, who has been stopping for several days at the Broadway Hotel, has liberated six slaves, who had accompanied him to that city. He did not turn them loose upon their own resources—but provided for their present and future sustenance."

NOTICES.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixth Annual Meeting of the WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Salem Columbiana county, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M

Let a full representation of the slaves' friends come up on this occasion from all parts of the Great West. The political leaders are marshalling their hosts for a conflict, their followers are rallying by hundreds of thousands to the support of their party banners. Time, and money, and labour are expended to secure their object. And shall the friends of Freedom, whose faith should be strong in the power of Truth, be lukewarm and indifferent while politicians are so earnest in their labours, so untiring in their zeal? The events of the past year should encourage us to renewed effort, for every movement of importance which has been made, having a bearing upon the question of Slavery, foreshadows the destruction of the system, and the oppressors feel that it is so. The political parties will make a desperate effort to save themselves from the destruction their corruption has brought upon them; and the efforts of the Abolitionists to maintain and enforce the Right should be proportionally great. Arrangements should be made at the coming meeting to continue the Anti-Slavery agitation by the lips of the living speaker, and to extend more widely the circulation of the Society's paper the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Let none of the friends who can be there, absent themselves for any light cause, for the presence of all, and the counsel of all is desirable.

Besides the friends of Liberty in the West who will be present on the occasion, HENRY C. WRIGHT and C. C. BURLEIGH, are expected to be in attendance, and perhaps other representatives of the East.

LOT HOLMES,
Recording Sec.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The friends of human freedom will hold a Convention at Willimantic, (Ct.) on Tuesday, July 4th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. and continuing through the day.—All, of whatever class, condition, or sect, are invited to attend.

S. S. Foster, and Abby Kelley Foster will attend, and address the meeting.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, *Pres.*
L. BURLEIGH, *Sec.*

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

Eastern Series.

The Anti-Slavery Conventions in the Eastern part of the State will be held as follows; commencing in

Stoneham, Essex county, Saturday and Sunday, June 17 and 18.
Reading, (Lectures by P. Pillsbury,) Tuesday evening, June 20, and following evenings.
Medford, (Lecture by W. W. Brown,) Tuesday evening, June 20.
West Cambridge, (do. do.) Thursday, June 22d.
Lawrence, (Annual Meeting Essex County Society,) Saturday and Sunday, June 24 and 25.
Georgetown, Wednesday and Thursday, 28 and 29.
Gloucester, Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2.
Abington, (*Plymouth county,*) Tuesday, July 4.

The above Conventions will be attended by Parker Pillsbury and W. W. Brown, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and others of which due notice may be expected, from time to time. For the meeting at Lawrence, see the official notice of the Secretary of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

☞ The announcement of Conventions in the interior part of the State must be deferred till next week.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The result of the effort made last year by the Abolitionists of the West, to hold an Anti-Slavery Fair, was abundantly gratifying; and fully demonstrated the practicability and usefulness of the plan. The Call was promptly responded to by many, the avails of whose labour greatly aided the Western Anti-Slavery Society, and enabled it to prosecute its work with renewed vigour. The exigencies of the cause demand as much sacrifice and effort now as were needed then. The victory of Freedom is not yet won—the clank of the bondman's fetters has not yet ceased—American women are still chattelized and imbruted. The blighting influence that Slavery has extended over the South and over the North, still exists—the Church is not yet purified of its iniquity, nor the State redeemed from its degradation. We, therefore, friends of the slave, appeal to you again—we appeal to your love of Liberty—to your reverence for the Eternal principles of Right; and ask you to bring this year another offering that may be used for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery Truth—for the increase of Anti-Slavery knowledge.

No inconsiderable portion of the donations at last year's Fair, was derived from the Farmer, the Mechanic, the Merchant, and the Manufacturer—will they not be as generous now as then, and each give ungrudgingly and liberally that which he has to bestow? Articles that cannot readily be transported to the Fair, may, with a little effort, be converted into money, or exchanged for goods that can be carried. Those who wish to aid in this work, need not be at a loss how to labour. Where Sewing Circles are not already in operation, may we not confidently hope they will speedily be organized, that their varied gifts of beautiful and fancy articles may not be wanting?

The special object of the proposed Fair is to aid the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and all funds there received will be placed in its Treasury—no goods are solicited, and none will be sold for the benefit of any other object. Those who are willing to assist this Society in sustaining its various agencies for promoting Anti-Slavery agitation, for hastening the redemption of the enslaved, are earnestly invited to join us. We labour, not for the advancement of any political party—for the furtherance of any measures that invoke the aid of brute force. It is by the strength of moral power we would tear down the strongholds of oppression—it is by establishing righteous principles we would secure for all an inheritance of Freedom. If you who profess to be the friends of the slave, are really with us in this contest between Truth and Error—between Slavery and Liberty—we shall expect your cordial co-operation.

The Fair will be held at the time and place of the next Annual Meeting.

J. ELIZABETH JONES, Salem,
BETSEY M. COWLES, Austinburgh,
SAREPTA BROWN, New Lyme,
ELIZA HOLMES, Columbiana,
MARIA L. GIDDINGS, Jefferson,
LYDIA IRISH, New Lisbon,
JANE D. MCNEALY, Greene,
REBECCA S. THOMAS, Marlboro,
MARIA WHITMORE, Andover,
MARY DONALDSON, Cincinnati,
ELIZABETH STEDMAN, Randolph,
HANNAH C. THOMAS, Mt. Union,
CLARISSA G. OLDS, Unionville,
ANN WALKER, Leesville,
SARAH B. DUGDALE, Green Plain,
PHEBE ANN CARROLL, Ravenna,
HARRIET N. TORREY, Parkman,
ELLEN CLARK, Wadsworth.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery, have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to right against law and custom;—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men, and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity.—Union being strength, that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party; and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co-operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partisan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation, which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. In the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective, energy, and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTISLAVERY BAZAAR to commence in FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved, and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
For the Committee.

[The names of the Committee not having been received in season for this paper, will appear next week.]

All persons desiring the privilge of cooperating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management. *Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing to it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon as convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M. W. Chapman, may be addressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during the remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated for the sake of the cause to continue the same good office, [by *seasonably* gathering the requisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, Dec'r. 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

MEETINGS IN THE WEST.

Henry C. Wright, the Apostle of Peace, and Charles C. Burleigh, the eloquent Antislavery Advocate, will hold meetings at the following places, viz: at

Pittsburgh,	Pa.	June 15th,	16th & 17th
New Brighton,	"	"	19th & 20th
Lowellville,	Ohio	"	22d
Youngstown,	"	"	24th & 25th
New Lyme	"	"	27th
Painesville,	"	"	29th
Chagrin Falls,	"	July	1st & 2d
Cleveland,	"	"	4th
Twinsburgh,	"	"	6th
Richfield,	"	"	8th & 9th
Akron,	"	"	11th
Ravenna,	"	"	13th & 14th
Randolph,	"	"	15 & 16th
Massillon,	"	"	18th

The meetings at New Lyme, Cleveland, and Akron, will commence at ten o'clock, A. M.; the others, on the first day of the meetings at two o'clock, P. M. subsequent days at 10 A. M.

The friends of Anti-Slavery and of Peace are requested to make all necessary arrangements for the meetings, as give as wide a notice as possible. Now is the time to agitate

Persons can avail themselves of this opportunity afforded by these meetings to pay for the Anti-Slavery Standard to SAMUEL BROOKE.

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Miscellany.

From Howitt's Journal.

LAMARTINE.

(Translated from the French of M. de Cormenin.)

BY GOODWYN BARNBY.

"In loving, praying, singing, see my life."
LAMARTINE, 1820.

"Social labour is the daily and obligatory work of every one who participates in the perils and benefits of society."
LAMARTINE, 1839.

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE was born at Mâcon, the 21st of October, 1790: his family name was De Prat; he has latterly taken the name of his maternal uncle. His father was major of a regiment of cavalry under Louis XVI. and his mother was daughter of Madame des Rois, under governess of the Princes of Orleans. Attached thus to the old order of things, his family was broken down by the Revolution, and his most early recollections carried themselves back to a sombre jail, where he went to visit his father. Those most wicked days of terror passed over, and M. de Lamartine retired to an obscure estate at Milly, where his young years calmly glided away. The remembrance of the domestic serenity of his first days has never been effaced from his mind, and at many a later time of his life, as a traveller, and as a poet, he has invoked the sweet images of that humble tower of Milly, with its seven linden trees, his aged father, his grave and affectionate mother, his sisters who were nourished at the same womanly bosom, and those grand trees full of shade, those fields, those mountains, and those valleys, the mute witnesses of the games of a free and happy childhood.

"My mother," says he somewhere, "received from her mother, on the pillow of death, a beautiful Bible, belonging to the Crown, in which she taught me to read when I was a little child. That Bible had engravings on sacred subjects in every page.—When I had recited my lesson well, and read with few errors, the half page of Sacred History, my mother uncovered the engraving, and holding the book open upon her knees, prompted me to look, and explained it to me for my recompense. The silvery affectionate sound, solemn and passionful of her voice, added to all that which she said, a powerful, charming, and love-like accent, which rings again at this moment in my ears, alas! after six years of silence!" Do you not see here the beautiful child, with large blue eyes, who was to be Lamartine? Do you not see him leaning on the knees of his mother, listening to her speech, opening his mind to all the harmonies of oriental nature, and drawing from the book of books his first instincts of poetry.

Soon was the child obliged to quit his paternal roof; they sent him to finish his education at Belley, in the college of the Fathers of the Faith. The religious germs which were sown by his mother, developed themselves strongly, in that melancholy solitude of the cloister: the beautiful episode of Jocelyn is full of remembrances imprinted by the calm and austere life of that holy residence.

After his departure from college, M. de Lamartine passed some time at Lyons, made a first brief excursion into Italy, and came to Paris during the last days of the empire. Brought up in the hatred of the imperial regime, M. de Lamartine made his entry into the world without well-knowing to which side he should turn his steps. Far from maternal care, forgetful sometimes of those severe precepts inculcated into his mind, the young man, they say, gave himself up a little to the incitations of vice, dividing his hours between study and the distractions incident to his age, gadding off to make merry with Jussieu in the wood of Vincennes, and cutting into whistles the bark of oaks; while dreaming already of literary, especially of dramatic glory, and well received by Talma, who was pleased to hear him recite, with his vibrating and melancholy voice, the unpublished fragments of a tragedy on Saul.

In 1813, the poet re-visited Italy; the greater part of his "Meditations" were inspired by its beautiful sky, and that delicious page of the "Harmonies," entitled "First Love," was sounded forth, it is believed, by some, sweet first mystery of the heart buried within a tomb. At the fall of the empire he offered his services to the ancient race, who had had the blood and the love of his fathers, and was entered in a company of the guards.

After the Hundred Days, M. de Lamartine quitted the service. One passion absorbed him entirely—that passion made his glory. Love came and agitated the fountain of poesie which slumbered in the depths of his soul. It was needful to open a passage for the gushing wave. The object of that mysterious passion, that loving and loved Elvira was snatched from his arms by death. She lived again in his verses. Lamartine sung to give eternity to her name, and France consecrated him her poet.

This was in 1820. The mythologic, descriptive, and refined versifiers of the Voltairian school, had so completely murdered poetry, that one wished for no more. A young man, scarcely recovered from a cruel illness, his visage paled by suffering, and covered with a veil of sickness, on which could be read the loss of a worshipped being, went timidly hawking about, from bookseller's to bookseller's, a poor little copy book of verses, wet with tears. Everywhere they politely shifted off the poetry and the poet. At last a bookseller, less prudent, or perhaps engaged by the infinite grace of the young man, decided to accept the MS. so often refused. The good-natured bookseller was, I believe, named Nicolle.—Thanks to you, M. Nicolle. Posterity owes you a remembrance. Who knows, but that without you, the discouraged poet would perhaps have hurled into the flames his precious treasure, and the world might have lost Lamartine.

The book was printed, and thrown, without name, without interest, on that stormy sea, which then as now, swallowed up so many thousand volumes.—You remember it in its modest 18mo., thrown perhaps by chance into your hands when you were fifteen, with a hopeful soul and a loving heart. No name, no preface, nothing pastoral, nothing warlike, nothing noisy—"Poetic Meditations" only. You have opened it carelessly; you have glanced at the first two lines—

Often on the mountain by an ancient oak–tree brown,
At the setting of the sun I have lain me sadly down.

You have found that it is not very bad. You have continued—you are arrived at the last stanza—

When falls into the meadow the autumn forest leaf,
The evening breeze uplifts it, and whirls it to the vale,
And I, alas, resemble that fading leaf of grief,
Like it, I am borne along by the stormy northern gale.

Your soul is moved; you have proceeded further, the emotion is redoubled; you have gone on to the very end, and then you have raised a long cry of admiration, you have wept, you have hid up the book under your cushion, that you may re-read it again; for that chaste, melancholy, and veiled love, it was yours; that reverie, soft and sweet, it was yours; that fretting doubt, it was yours; that thought, sometimes smiling, sometimes funereal, passing from despair to hope, from dejection to enthusiasm, from the Creator to the creature; a thought, vague, uncertain, and floating, it was your thought—to you, to us, to all, it was the thought of the age, which had been hived up in the depths of the soul, and which at last had found a language and a form; and what form? A rhythm of celestial melody, a ringing verse full of cadence, and sound which vibrates as sweetly as an Eolian harp, trembling in the evening breeze.

Everything possible has been said on this first work of the poet's. All the world knows by heart the "Ode to Byron," the "Evening," the "Lake and Autumn." In four years, 45,000 copies of the "Meditations" were circulated. Five years afterwards the sublime voice of "René" found an harmonious echo, and with one bound only, M. de Lamartine placed himself on the same pedestal, by the side of the demi-gods of the epoch, Chateaubriand, Goëthe, and Byron.

This literary success, the most brilliant of the age since the *Genius of Christianity*, opened to M. de Lamartine the career of a diplomatist. Attached to the embassy at Florence, he departed for Tuscany, and there in its land of inspiration, in the midst of the splendours of an Italian festival, it is said that he heard a foreign voice—a tender and melodious voice, murmuring in his ears, these verses of the "Meditations"—

A hopeless return of the bliss which has flown,
Perhaps in the future is stored for me still,
And perhaps in the crowd a sweet spirit unknown,
Will answer me kindly and know my soul well.

The soul of the poet was known, he found a second Elvira, and some months after he became the happy husband of a young and rich English woman, entirely smitten with his person and his fame.

From that time to 1825, the poet resided successively at Naples, as Secretary of the Embassy, some while in London in the same office, and then returned to Tuscany in the quality of a Chargé d'Affaires. In the interval, his fortune, already considerable from his marriage, increased again through the inheritance of an opulent uncle, but neither diplomacy nor the splendours of an aristocratic existence were able to tear M. de Lamartine from the worship of poetry.

The "Second Meditations" appeared in 1823.—There was noticed in this new collection, a more correct, more balanced, more precise versification.—The poet had been abroad in the domain of the soul. Grand historic facts had furnished him with noble inspirations. The "Ode to Bonaparte," "Sappho," the "Preludes," and the "Dying Poet" were admired. This volume was also well followed by the "Poetic Sketch of Socrates," and by the last canto of the "Pilgrimage of Childe-Harold." In these verses, intended to complete the epic of Byron, the poet finished with an eloquent tirade on the abasement of Italy:—

Pardon me, shade of Rome! for seek I must
Elsewhere for men, and not in human dust.

This apostrophe appeared offensive to Colonel Pépé, a Neapolitan officer. In the name of his country he demanded satisfaction from M. de Lamartine.—The poet defended his poetry with the sword, and received a severe wound, which for a long while put his life in danger. When scarcely recovered he hastened to intercede with the Grand Duke in favour of his adversary.

After having in 1825 published the "Song of the Sacred," the poet returned to France in 1829, and in the month of May of the same year, appeared the "Harmonies, Poetic and Religious." In that work, the intimate revelation of his every day thought, M. de Lamartine puts everything into metre. Since that sweet hymn of First Love to that gigantic invocation of all human mischief, (verba novissima,) the poet had run over that vast poetical gamut which, flowing from reveries, mounted as high as enthusiasm, or descended as low as despair. Less accessible to the vulgar on account of their psychologic intuition, and thrown besides into the midst of a great political commotion, the "Harmonies" remained the book of classic souls, the book which they loved to look over in the silent hours when they collected themselves, to listen for the inward voice.

M. de Lamartine was received at the Academy, and when the Revolution of July broke out, he departed for Greece in the character of Minister Plenipotentiary. The new Government offered to preserve him his title. He refused, but remained to say farewell to three generations of kings, forced by fatality to a new exile. Like M. de Chateaubriand, the poet dreamed that after the three days, there would be an alliance of the past and future, over the head of a child. Destiny decided otherwise. His tribute of sympathy once paid to the unfortunate great, M. de Lamartine dashed gallantly into the new road opened to the mind by the Revolution of July.

"The past is nothing more than a dream," said he, "we must regret it, but we ought not to lose the day in weeping to no purpose. It is always lawful, always honourable, for one to take his share in the unhappiness of others, though he ought not gratuitously to take his share in a fault which one has not committed. * * * He should return into the ranks of his fellow-citizens, to think, to speak, to act, to fight, with his country—the family of families."

Here then commenced the revelation of a tendency in M. de Lamartine, until then unperceived. "In loving, praying, singing, see my life," said the happy lover of Elvira, but lo! after having led us to the threshold of the mysterious sanctuary of the heart, whereof he knew all the secrets, M. de Lamartine, smitten with a love for the outward life, aspires to the storms of the tribune, descends the heights of the empyrean to enter the forum, and wears the parliamentary toga as well as the poetic robe. His first step in this new career was marked by a check. The electors of Toulon and Dunkirk refused him their suffrages. They had not forgotten the discourteous verses which were addressed by him to their vassal, the poet Barthélemy. The public gained by it an epistle sparkling with beauties, in which, from the height of his glory M. de Lamartine crushed the author of "Nemesis."

Some while afterward he decided upon putting into execution the project of his whole life, and on the 20th of May, 1842, he was at Marseilles, ready to embark for Asia.

After a travel of six months, M. de Lamartine returned from the East, with grand ideas, and a beautiful book, a treasure alas! right dearly bought, as he had lost there his only child, his fair Julia, whom the noble heart of the father, and of the poet wept for, like Rachel who would not be comforted. The book of M. de Lamartine had a very confined success. It seems as if the critics, and the public had taken in earnest the modest lines of the preface, in which the author cheapened his work, but although unsatisfactory to the public, to the critics, and to M. de Lamartine, those pages do not appear so negligent to us, as they were said or believed to be. Apart from the justness, more or less contestible, of the political views, it is certain that if richness of style, elevation of thought, freshness of imagery, and besides all that rapid and varied succession of scenes the most moving, constitute a beautiful work, the "Travels in the East," is a book which will not die.

Religion, History, Philosophy, Politics, each contribute to this book. Let us try to analyse it rapidly. And at first we see a man, rendered happy by glory, by opulence, by the heart, by sacred affection of the domestic fireside, by the sympathies and admiration of the crowd, who bids adieu to all which he loves, takes by the hand his wife and his daughter, equips a vessel and entrusts to the waves those two portions of his heart; and all this because when a child, he read the Bible on his mother's knees, and that a commanding voice cried to him, without ceasing,—"Go, weep upon the mountain where Christ wept; go, sleep beneath the palm where Jacob slept!" And then when the anchor is weighed, when the wind filled the sails, how people followed with anxiety the ship that bore a noble woman, a gracious child, and the poetic fortune of France. How they read with pleasure all the details of interior arrangements. How they loved the anxieties of the husband and father,—that crew of sixteen men who belonged body and soul to the poet, that library of five hundred volumes, that tent raised at the foot of the mainmast, that arsenal of guns, of pistols, and of sabres, and those four cannon charged with barrel shot. "I have to defend two lives which are dearer to me than my own," said M. de Lamartine, with mingled solicitude and fierceness. In the passage from Marseilles to Beyruth, the voyager wrote his book day by day, at the back part of his cabin, or at evening on the deck amid the rolling of the vessel. It is a varied mosaic, confused but attractive, with moral reflections, with reliances looking backward at the past, with babblings of the present, with thoughts thrown towards the future; the whole intermingled with landscapes, the colours of which might have been envied by Claude Lorraine. The poet notes as he passes, the ship flies, the waves flow, and meanwhile, valleys, mountains, monuments, men, sea, and sky, all are seized and fixed by the aid of a goose-quill, and described with an inexpressible charm. The interest goes on increasing. The varied episodes of maritime and oriental life accumulate. Nothing is deficient in the drama—not even the catastrophe. For each time that the name or image of Julia comes under the pen of M. de Lamartine, they cause an oppression of the heart, and we sympathize with the passionful accents of a father, who broods with love over his beautiful child, and is pleased to paint her as "Detached from amid all those harsh and masculine figures, her locks unbound and falling on her white robe, her beautiful rosy face, happy and gay, surmounted with a sailor's straw hat tied under her chin, playing with the white cat of the captain, or with a nest of sea pigeons, woke up as they were sleeping on the carriage of a cannon, while she furnished crumbs of bread to their taste."

Alas! now we behold the coast of Asia, we see Libanus, we see Bayruth, the fatal town, the town in which Julia was to die. The voyager disembarks. He buys five houses for his wife and daughter. He leaves them to enjoy all the magnificence of oriental life, and departs for Jerusalem, with his own escort of twenty horsemen. The sheiks of the tribes come to meet him. All the towns open to him their gates; and their governors answer for his safety with their heads, according to the will of Ibrahim Pâcha. Lady Stanhope, that miniature Semiramis, half sublime, and half-foolish, predicted him marvellous destinies, and the Arabs, delighted with the beautiful and imposing figure, tall in height, straight, and sparkling with arms, of him who passed at a gallop, with twenty horsemen, over the desert, bowed the head to him they called the Frank Emir, the French Prince, or simply the Emir, who was that poor poet who had hitherto vainly prayed the oil merchants and the manufacturers of sugar from beet root, to please to open for him the doors of the chambers.

We should never finish if we were to stay as we wish over all these beautiful pages, each of which is in itself a picture. Is there in the world a scene more gracious, more picturesque or more novel than this? M. de Lamartine is reclining upon the odorous slopes of Carmel, in the finest vegetation in the earth, by the side of Lilla, "that beautiful daughter of Araby, whose long fair locks falling over her naked bosom, were braided on her head in a thousand tresses, which rested on her bare shoulders amid a confused minglement of flowers, or golden sequins, and of scattered pearls." All at once there came mounted on a swift charger, one of the most celebrated poets of Arabia. He had been apprized that he should meet there a western brother, and he is come to joust with him. Our poet accepts the defiance.—The child of Asia, and the child of Europe, collected themselves, and rivalled each other as to who should find the most harmonious chaunts to celebrate the beauty of Lilla. The mean and shrill tongue of our France entered into the lists with the supple and harmonious language which Job, and Antar spoke, but thanks to M. de Lamartine, France was not vanquished.

It is amid like enchantments that the poet leads us in his train, across Greece, Syria, Judea, Turkey, and Servia. The eye is as if dazzled by all these faery passages, by all these scenes of war, of peace, of grief, of joy, of repose, of love, which it sees on all sides flit before it. The Itinerary of Chateaubriand is at the same time the book of a poet, of an historian, and of a philosopher, in which he examines the ruins of centuries, and enquires of them if they possess the secret of the times which live no more. That which is prominently in relief in the book of Lamartine, in spite of Lamartine himself, is the poet. His work is pre-eminently that of a religious and passionate artist, exploring the beautiful under all its forms, seeking in life all its splendours, in art all its promises.

Soon the traveller thought of returning. The Dunkirkers had despatched him, over the sea, a legislative commission. He prepared himself for departure, sad and broken hearted; for the same ship which had borne his beloved Julia thither, racing, laughing, and joyous on its deck, had to recross the ocean, carrying the poor child, cold and sleeping in a shroud. To save himself and the mother of his daughter the grief of a contrast so heart-rending, Lamartine returned to France in another vessel.

On the 4th of January, 1834, he appeared for the first time, at the tribune in the discussion on the address. Which will he be? said they. Will he be Legitimist or Radical? Right-centre, or left-centre, third party, or juste-milieu? He preferred to be Lamartine. Refusing himself all political classification, he spoke of justice, of morality, of tolerance, of humanity, in the special language which God has given to poets. The lawyers of the Chamber judged him a little vague, the matter-of-fact men found him too diffuse, the statesmen declared him impalpable, but, however, all the world heard him with that emotion which ever attends a noble and harmonious speech when it emanates from the heart of a good man.

Since his entry to the Chamber, M. Lamartine has not abandoned the worship of his first, his most glorious years. He has attempted to march in rank, the inspirations of the poet, and the duties of the deputy. In 1835 he published, the poem of "Jocelyn," a magnificent picture of passion sacrificed to duty. For the first time he invoked the aid of modern history and dramatic position, brilliant auxiliaries which served him with kindness. Criticism has reproved him with incorrectness of style, and negligence in the texture of this work, but the public again found its poet, whole as ever, in the beautiful pages which reflected the rugged and savage nature of the mountains of Dauphiny.—After Jocelyn, Lamartine gave us, the "Fall of an Angel," the second episode of that vast epopeia, with which he was inspired by the east.

This was followed by his poetic recollections.—These works were not so well received by the critics, and in the introduction to the latter, M. le Lamartine professed to despise mere poetic inactivity, and to aspire to social labour for the advance of society.

At the same time that Lamartine thus met unaccustomed repulsions in the literary world, he grew greater at the tribune. The Oriental question furnished him with an occasion for developing his ideas on the bases of a new European system. A warm and eloquent attack on the punishment of death; some generous words in favour of foundlings; a beautiful improvisation in which he contended for classical studies against a rough jouster, M. Arago, who combatted for science, made Lamartine known in the rank of a chief of a column, collected around him a little phalanx of choice men, and this aggregation was decorated with the name of the Social Party.

What then is this social party? What moreover is the political idea of Lamartine? Placed outside the times, the interests, and the men of yesterday, the political system of the poet it is difficult to succinctly and precisely analyze. To the eyes of Lamartine, in the various commotions which has agitated France since '89, there was not only a political and local revolution, but also a revolution, social and universal. These partial overturnings were nothing but the prelude to a general transformation, and the world appeared to him to be soon called to a complete renovation in its ideas, in its manners, and its laws. Under this point of view, the doctrine of Lamartine approaches that of St. Simon. He repudiates not this likeness. He has proclaimed it some while before. "St. Simonism," said he, "has something in it of the true, of the grand, and of the fruitful, the application of Christianism to political society, and the legislating in favour of human fraternity. In this point of view I am a St. Simonian. That which was deficient in that eclipsed sect, was not the idea, was not the disciples: it wanted only a chief, a master, a regulator. The organizers of St. Simonism deceived themselves in declaring at once a deadly war, against family, against property, against religion. They could not conquer the world by the power of a word. They converted, they agitated they worked, and they changed, but when an idea is not practicable it is not presentable to the social world.

There remains to be known, however, what is the practical system which M. Lamartine presents to the social world, that system he thus expresses: You say that all is dead, that there no longer exists either faith or belief. There is a faith,—that faith is the general reason, the word is its organ, the press is its apostle; it wishes to remake in its image, religious civilizations, societies and laws. It desires in religion, God one and perfect as the dogma: eternal morality as the symbol: adoration and charity as the worship—in politics humanity above nationalities—in legislation man equal to man, man brother of man, Christianity made law. Such is the political testament of Lamartine. That which the poetic publicist desires, that is to say universal fraternity, and a terrestrial paradise, is truly what all the world wishes as well as himself. The question is to know by what practical means the world is to be placed in this position.

In that which is connected with exterior politics, Lamartine's thought is not more practicable, but it is more neat and precise. It may thus be reduced to its most simple expression. * * * Europe is gorged with inactive capacities and powers, which imperiously demand social employment; but at the same time when the excess of life overflows among us, there is working in the East a crisis of an inverted order. A grand vacuum offers itself there for the overplus of European faculty and population.—What is to be done then is to turn upon Asia the surplus of Europe. How is this idea to be actualized? Lamartine says, that a European Congress should be assembled, to decree that immediately after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, (and he sees it already on the ground,) each power should take possession of a part of the East, under the title of a protectorate; should found on its coast model towns destined to relieve Europe of its exuberant population, should lead thither the indigent by the attraction of a benevolent, equitable, and regular organization, and should appeal thus insensibly to Asia in the way of conversion. "In twenty years," adds Lamartine, "the measure which I propose would have created prosperous nations, and millions of men would be marching under the ægis of Europe to a new civilization." But remark that this theory presented here in the state of a skeleton, is adorned with a magic of style so attractive, that the spirit allows itself to be gently led towards the angelic dream of the candid soul of the poet. We nearly forget that to realize this system, which unrolls itself in twenty pages, there would be required nothing less than to change by a stroke of a wand, minds and men, to overthrow empires, to make continents approach each other, and to join by the bonds of mutual and durable sympathy, races formed upon centuries of mortal enmities. But M. Lamartine accomplishes all these things in twenty years, and with the stroke of a pen. Another ten centuries, and perhaps this audacious Utopia will become a manorial right. Thus goes the world! While the crowd is painfully forced to enlarge the wheel-rut deepened by the generations passed, expecting that it will leave to the generations to come the continuation of its work, the poet, intrepid and indefatigable enlightener! raises himself to his height above the times, and cries to the crowd, "Come to me." "I have not thy wings," answers the crowd. The poet, uncomprehended takes his flight, and the crowd which could not comprehend, returns to its work.

In a later analysis, there is in the exceptional position of Lamartine, amid the parties and ambitions which divide the country and the Chamber, a character of dignity and grandeur, which well becomes the poet. Notwithstanding his speech is vague, indecisive, and ill at ease, in the narrow and ephemeral questions, which each session sees born and die, yet that speech enlarges, fortifies, and unrolls itself harmoniously coloured and imposing, whenever it has to vindicate the rights of intelligence, or defend the eternal principles of honour, of morality, and of charity, on which rest all human society.—We recall that stormy day when a late minister had to resist nearly alone the united efforts of the most powerful orators of the Chamber. The minister succumbed. Lamartine believed he saw in the energy of the attack, a spirit of systematic hostility, of covetousness, or of rancour. His poet's heart was indignant; he descended into the arena re-established the combat, and made an appeal to the country to decide the victory. That influence which Lamartine sometimes exercises in the debates of the Chamber is less due to the eminent oratorical faculties which he possesses, than to the morality of his life, to the elevated instincts of his nature, and above all to the calm, disinterested, independant, and noble attitude, which he has ever preserved since his entry into the political career.

The poet of Elvira has in his general appearance a something which recalls Byron. There is the same beauty of face and look, there are the same habits of elegance and dandyism, the same *tournure*, a little trimmed, a little English perhaps, but perfectly noble and distinguished! If you join to this to complete the resemblance, the train of a great lord, a sumptuous hotel, horses of a pure race, a magnificent chateau, you can then conclude since Tasso and Camoens, the times are a little changed, and that one is permitted in our days to be a great poet without dying in an hospital.

With the late political position of M. de Lamartine the public is familiar. The longer he has sate in the Chamber of Deputies the more he has seen cause to withdraw his confidence from the King and Guizot, to oppose them, and to warn the country of the necessity of a firm stand for liberty.—For this his eloquence has been zealously and splendidly exerted in the Chamber; for this he established the Journal *Bien Publique;* but above all, for this has he written his great work the history of the Girondists, which has unquestionably done more than any other cause to urge the era of the Revolution. During the paroxysm of this great and wonderful change, Lamartine has maintained all expectations formed of him. Wise, firm, benevolent, and disinterested, he resisted the rash claims, while he has advocated the just ones of the people. To him, perhaps, more than any other of the present leaders of France, is owing that so stupendous a crisis has been passed with so little outrage, and so much noble forbearance. His power upon the multitude in its most agitated moments reminds us of that of Cicero. From his true Christian faith, and the high and generous principles which he has derived from it, we look for the introduction not only of greater stability into the new Government, but for a higher policy both domestic and foreign than has yet distinguished state morality.

From the London Punch.

THE MODEL BABY.

It is the image of its father, unless it is the very picture of its mother. It is the best tempered little thing in the world, never crying but in the middle of the night, or screaming but when it is being washed. It is astonishing how quiet it is whilst feeding. It understands everything, and proves its love for learning, by tearing the leaves out of every book, and grasping at the engravings. It is the cleverest child that ever was born, and says "papa," or something very like it, when scarcely a month old. It takes early to pulling whiskers, preferring those of strangers. It has only one complaint, and that is the wind; but it is frequently troubled with it. It is the most wonderful child that was ever seen, and would swallow both its tiny fists, if it was not for a habit of choking. It dislikes leaving home, rarely stopping on a visit longer than a day. It has a strange hostility for its nurse's caps and nose, which it will clutch and hold with savage tenacity, if in the least offended. It is never happy but in its mother's arms, especially if it is being nursed by a gentleman. It prefers the floor to the cradle, which it never stops in longer than it can help. It is very playful, delighting in pulling the table-cloth off, or knocking the china ornaments off the mantelpiece, or upsetting its food on somebody's lap. It invents a new language of its own, almost before it can speak, which is perfectly intelligible to its parents, though Greek to every one else. It is not fond of public entertainments, invariably crying before it has been at one five minutes. It dislikes treachery in any shape, and repels the spoonful of sugar if it fancies there is a powder at the bottom of it. Medicine is its greatest horror, next to cold water. It has no particular love for dress, generally tearing to pieces any handsome piece of finery, lace especially, as soon as it is put on. It inquires deeply into every thing, and is very penetrating in the construction of a drum, the economy of a work-box, or the anatomy of a doll, which it likes all the better without any head or arms. It has an intuitive hatred of a doctor, and fights with all its legs, and hands, and first teeth, against his endearments. It has a most extraordinary taste for colours, imbibing them greedily in every shape, more especially from the wooden tenants of Noah's Ark, which are to be found in the mouth of every baby. In fact, there never was a child like it, and the Model Baby proves this by surviving the thousand-and-one experiments of rival grannies and mothers-in-law, and outliving, to the athletic age of kilts and bare legs, the villanous compounds of Godfrey and Dalby, and the whole poison-chest of Elixirs, Carminatives, Cordials, and Pills, which babies are physically heir to.

From Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper.

PLAYING AT POVERTY.

Louis Philippe is, it must be allowed, an accomplished actor—a truly great comedian. The reputation he acquired upon the throne of France as a perfect player, is not likely to be lessened by his efforts—before a small and humble audience—at the Theatre Rural Claremont. A writer in the *Cambridge Advertiser* gives a somewhat particular account of the doings of his histrionic Majesty:—

We have just visited the neighbourhood, [Claremont,] where we have learned on unquestionable authority that the single hired carriage with which Louis Philippe indulged the ex-Queen and himself during the first month, has been discontinued, and the only expense of that kind ventured upon is the hire of three cabs on a Sunday morning, to convey the family to the Roman Catholic chapel at Weybridge. The whole of the household, chiefs and dependents, dine together. Everything, including whatever wine and dessert is allowed, is placed on the table at once without a single remove. There is only one servant in attendance in the room. The descendants of Charlemagne wait upon themselves and on each other.

We have heard, too, that from time to time a bracelet, or some article of jewelry, is sent about high life for a purchaser, that the proceeds of the royal property may minister to royal wants. Very touching is the history of these transactions; the vulgar object of which is to transmute diamonds into daily mutton. And certes, we should consider these straits of fortune with at least respect, did we believe in their absolute necessity. But we look upon them as only the fine by-play of a consummate actor. The three hired cabs are used as quiet, yet touching appeals to the compassion of France; the small allowance of wine and limited dessert may stir the heart of the Republic to reconsider a design of sequestration. We believe that the Count de Neuilly plays the pauper for the benefit of his children; and therefore his acting has, at least, a better justification than his previous tragi-comedy. For ourselves, it is our faith that the shade of Charlemagne is not much discomfited by the penury of his descendants; as a shade he doubtless knows better.

However, let us grant the truth of all this seeming privation—this apparent squalor. May we not ask of Majesty, with Apollo in the burlesque—

Have you no bowels for your own relations?

Does the King of Belgium suffer no twinge of conscience, entering his own state carriage? Do not those three Weybridge cabs, like three witches, haunt him on his road from Laechen to Brussels?—Can he not, from his own overflowing pocket, set up a Brougham—a constant Brougham—for his old father and mother-in-law, the single hired carriage being, perforce of poverty, discontinued? How too, can Leopold face his twenty footmen, thinking of the one servant of all work, waiting on the half-dozen descendants of Charlemagne?

Either the Count de Neuilly is playing at poverty, and will not have his part spoiled by the liberality of his son-in-law, or it must be owned that Kings and Dukes have not the vulgar solicitude of common people for their poor relations.

For ourselves, we still hold to the belief that the Count's three hired cabs and other accessories of penury, are only to be considered as so many essentials to the farce—so many stage properties.

From the Cincinnati Chronicle.

THE "BARNBURNERS," AND "OLD-HUNKERS."

The origin of the term *Barnburner* was, we believe, this:—In the State of New York it is well known that politics were for very many years arranged and directed by a class of men called the *Albany Regency*. They held the State offices, and parcelled them out as their own domain. Of course this in time begat jealousy and opposition. The young and new members of the party could see neither justice nor propriety in this sort of political aristocracy; and many of the old ones, who had fought long unrewarded, took sides with them. This manifested itself in the Legislature. A radical faction was formed, and the great point of dispute was, as it always has been, *the offices*. "Ah, (said the radicals,) what right have these old fellows—these *hunkers*—to be forever sucking at the public crib, while not a teat remain for us?" It was a sore grievance and a trying time. What could be done? Nothing seemed possible. The Hunkers held on with a grip like a vice. They acted most emphatically on the doctrine that "a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush." At length, seeing there was no chance without force, a leader of the faction rose and said:

Mr. Speaker: I see that the gentlemen who hold the Regency power have taken their course, and are not to be moved by persuasion or ejectment: they are no sooner driven out at one corner than they come in at the other. Sir, I see no way to get them out but to serve them as some fellow did the rats. He was troubled excessively by rats in his barn; he tried all sorts of ways to get them out; he set traps for them; he got a terrier dog, he sent in a weasel, and he put poison in their way; but all in vain—no sooner did they go out one side than they came in the other. The traps they would not enter, the poison they would not eat. He resolved what he would do; *he set fire to the barn, and burnt barn, rats, and all!* This is what we will do, Sir. In the masterly language of the immortal Jefferson, Sir, "few men die and none resign." We must try a more summary method—we will *burn the barn, rats, and all.*

The Hunkers understood the game, and resolved to anticipate a little; so at the next election, when the great chief of the Barnburners (Silas Wright) was nominated, the Hunkers quickly gave him a stab under the fifth rib, and laid him low in political death. "Vengeance!" then said all the Barnburners. "Justice to Silas Wright now requires that we should immolate a hecatomb of rats." "*The barn must be burnt!*" And it was. Nothing but its ruins remain, whilst hundreds of Hunker rats, all nicely fatted, expired in the flower of political martyrdom.

PASSION FOR SURGERY.

Theodore S. Fay, in a letter to the Home Journal, relates the following anecdotes of Dieffenbach, the celebrated German Surgeon whose recent death has been deeply regretted by scientific men:

He was a small man, with a high, shrill voice, and nothing externally remarkable, except a pair of brilliant black eyes, and a good deal of dash and style in dress and equipage. His thirst was for those terrible operations for which he was so celebrated. Among others, this:—He one day saw a student in the street, with some unhappy excrescence growing out of his head or neck, and that glistening eye once fixed on the poor fellow, it was not possible to escape. Dieffenbach addressed him, and proposed to operate for nothing. The man refused. He offered a bribe. In vain. He described the probable course of deformity. It would lead to torments—to death perhaps. The student impatiently replied, "when he felt the approach of those grave inconveniences, he would address himself to the operator, and not before." Dieffenbach left him at length, and the young fellow returned to his books, pipe, and lecture, laughing heartily at the perseverence of his formidable enemy, and congratulating himself upon a happy escape. But one morning, about daybreak, a knock at his door announced, as the sleeper supposed, the *Steifelputzer*, (the boot cleaner,) who usually came at that hour. He arose, unlocked the door, and lo! Dieffenbach stood before him, with those supernatural eyes, and four stout medical students at his back.

"We have come to operate upon you!"

"No! *Donner Wetter!*" cried the student.

The surgeon made a sign. The subject was then thrown upon the bed and held there by firm force. He had scarcely time to express his sense of his treatment, by certain German exclamations, when his frightful infirmity was whisked off from him. and he lay a month or two in bed, recovering from the effects. He did recover, completely, and the students, the subordinate demons of this diabolical drama, declare the ungrateful dog was no sooner on his legs again, a corrected and mended man, than he went and sued his benefactor—and recovered heavy damages.

Another person had a protuberance upon the end of his tongue. Up to a certain day the history is the same as the preceding. On that day, Dieffenbach, having received a final negative to all his prayers and remonstrances, requested at least one farewell look at the beautiful object of his desires. The unsuspecting patient put out his tongue, and, in the twinkling of an eye, there was a needle through it, about half a foot long, retaining it immovably in its place, and cutting short all expressions of disapprobation and ineffectual arguments. The happy artist now had everything his own way. And what his own way was, I leave you to imagine.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

It is said that Cuba is the only place where the laws are written in Spanish, in which the snort of a locomotive salutes the ear.

The Foundling Hospital of Paris has not escaped the general change of names; it is now called, Asylum for the Country's Children. (Enfants de la Patrie.)

The first amateur performance for the benefit of the "Shakspeare house" Fund took place last night at the Haymarket, the gentlemen who acted on the occasion being, for the most part, the same with those who gained so much credit by playing "Every Man in his Humour," at Miss Kelly's and the St. James's some three years back.

The play was "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and the following was the cast:

Sir John Falstaff		Mr. Mark Lemon
Fenton		Mr. Charles Romer
Shallow, a country Justice		Mr. Charles Dickens
Slender, cousin to Shallow		Mr. John Leech
Mr. Ford, two gentlemen dwelling at Windsor		Mr. John Forster
Mr. Page, two gentlemen dwelling at Windsor		Mr. Frank Stone
Sir Hugh Evans, a Welsh parson		Mr. G. H. Lewes
Dr. Caius, a French physician		Mr. Dudley Costello
Host of the Garter Inn		Mr. Frederick Dickens
Bardolph	Followers of Falstaff	Mr. Cole
Pistol	Followers of Falstaff	Mr. Geo. Cruikshank
Nym	Followers of Falstaff	Mr. Augustus Dickens
Robin	Followers of Falstaff	Miss Robins
Simple, servant to Slender		Mr. Augustus Egg
Rugby, Servant to Dr. Caius		Mr. Eaton
Mrs. Ford		Miss Fortesque
Mrs. Page		Miss Kenworthy
Miss Anne Page, her daughter, in love with Fenton		Miss Anne Romer
Mrs. Quickly, servant to Dr. Caius,		Mrs. Cowden Clarke

We have received a letter from Mr. G. Wilson M'Cree, Norwich, in which is the following statement: "Certain communities squander immense sums of money to procure drinks. The people of Lancashire pay at least 1,000,000*l.* a year in taxes on intoxicating liquors: other counties spend similar sums. To gratify their taste for strong drink, the population of Ipswich pay 50,000*l.* yearly; Bury, in Lancashire, 54,000*l.*; Merthyr Tydvil, 70,000*l.*; Dundee, (1841,) 180,000*l.*; Bristol, 300,000*l.*; Glasgow, 1,000,000*l.*; London, about 3,000,000*l.* The greater proportion of these prodigious sums of money is expended by the working classes."—*Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper.*

The Liverpool Albion says: "Put your finger in de, vat you call him, de blacksmith's vice," said the foreigner, "and turn him till you can bear him no longer. Dat is de rheumatiz. Den give him another turn. Dat is de gout. But taxation in this country has long since passed the gout point of the intolerable."

MRS. BUTLER.—The readings of Mrs. Butler, at the Athenæum, have concluded this week: a more intellectual enjoyment has not been offered to the members of the Institution. Into some of the lofier passages of the poet she threw a dignity and power more effective than even her stage illustration, because the art by which it was rendered, was less visible. In one or two of the characters of refined humour, we were carried, occasionally, to the remembrance of her mother; the *embonpoint* she has arrived at, perhaps aiding the picture. She sails this day in the *Hibernia* for the United States, from whence we hope she will return well rewarded, again to take her place among the highest illustrators of the world's poet.

During the eighteen years of Louis Philippe's reign, fifty seven journals were obliged to discontinue publication. Their writers and contributors were sentenced, in the aggregate, to an imprisonment of three thousand one hundred and forty-one years.

At Stourbridge, England, a musical festival took place for the relief of the poor, a few days since, when Mr. Russell sang "There's a good time coming." At the conclusion of the melody, a farmer stood up, and addressing the vocalist, said, "Mr. Russell, you could not fix the date, could you?"

MILES OF WATER LILIES.—Crossed the lake to Wattureh (Isle of Celebes); one field of large brilliant water lillies extended four or five miles, presenting the lovely contrast of white flowers, and fresh dark green leaves on a magnificent scale. On the leaves are found some nests of the aquatic birds with which the lake abounds, and the birds themselves ran over or swam around the flowers. —*Mundy's Borneo and Celebes.*

THE PLUNDER OF THE TUILERIES.—Four persons, named Boutron, *alias* the Parisian, 18 years